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FIGHT BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE RIOTERS AT THE HALVED STREET VIADUCT.

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ANNALS
OF THE
GREAT STRIKES
IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Reliable History and Graphic Description of the Causes
and Thrilling Events of the Labor Strikes
and Riots of 1877.

ILLUSTRATED.

BY
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Late of the Editorial Staff St. Louis Republican.

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PREFACE.

To collect and arrange the facts and incidents connected with the history of the great labor strikes in this country, is an undertaking of so much importance that it must commend itself to the favorable consideration of the American people. The interest in events of the nature and character of those treated of in the following pages cannot prove to be ephemeral. An epoch in the history of the nation is here marked, and from it will be dated the beginning of political discussions, and social movements which are destined to enlist the profound attention of thinking minds throughout the civilized world. These events are phenomenal. The world is witness to a spectacle, the like of which has never before been presented. A Republic still regarded in the light of an experiment, having lately terminated a long and fierce sectional conflict by engaging in one of the greatest wars of modern times; having achieved order, reconciliation and peace between all sections, having demonstrated the greatness and magnanimity of the people; having extorted from the enemies of liberal institutions acknowledgements that self-government was a possibility, having accomplished all these things—this Republic suddenly startles the world; drowns the noise of strife on the Bulgarian plains, and among the Balkans, and draws exclusive attention to a social *emeute* on this side the Atlantic, unparalleled in the annals of time. Astonish-

ing as was the suddenness of the movement, yet no less surprising was the facility and rapidity with which law, order, and profound peace were restored.

In this uprising of the laborers against their employers, aggravated as it was by the early appearance on the scene, of a vast number of theorists, and dangerous characters, who sought their opportunity, during the reign of general tumult to subvert the very fundamental principles of social order, we have gained a deeper knowledge of the character of the American people. Sudden as a thunder-burst from a clear sky, the crisis came upon the country. Hundreds and thousands of men belonging to the laboring classes, alleging that they were wronged and oppressed, ceased to work, seized railroads, closed factories, founderies, shops and mills, laid a complete embargo on all internal commerce, interrupted travel, and bid defiance to the ordinary instruments of legal authority. Commencing at Camden Station, Baltimore, and at Martinsburg, West Virginia, in three days the movement had extended to Pittsburgh, Newark, Ohio, Hornellsville, Fort Wayne and a hundred other points. State militia forces were encountered and repelled. The whole country seemed stricken by a profound dread of impending ruin. In the large cities the cause of the strikers was espoused by a nondescript class of the idle, the vicious, the visionary and the whole rabble of the Pariahs of society. No standing army was available, and these classes absolutely controlled the country.

During these few days of the reign of the strikes, it

seemed as if the whole social and political structure was on the very brink of ruin. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the laws were momentarily subverted; officers, civil and military were for the time being powerless to compel or restrain, yet the outrages committed, such as might have been expected in a time of high excitement and the reign of passion, were confined to a few great cities, in which a large element of vicious and idle persons were to be found.

These are features of the Great Strikes which awaken our profound attention, and demand that the record be made up while the events are still fresh in the minds of the people. No better testimonial to the sterling worth of the American character, no better evidence of their fitness for self-government, can be produced than is furnished by their conduct in rising in majesty in favor of law and order, during the Nation's trials. The American people are emphatically upholders of the principles of social order and the reign of law. For these reasons the author has undertaken the onerous task of gathering up the scattered facts which go to make up the complete history of the Great Strikes.

In the preparation of this work, the author has experienced no little difficulty, not from the paucity, but from the plethora of materials at hand. Care has been exercised to separate fiction from fact, and every possible endeavor has been made to secure accuracy in statements and details. In all cases, where it has been possible to do so, a careful investigation as to the correctness of alleged facts has been gone into by the author. It is believed,

that in all essential respects, the volume herewith presented for the approval of the American public, is accurate and reliable. The brief time which has elapsed since the events treated of occurred, has of course rendered it impossible to make a thorough investigation of minor incidents. The author does not claim for his work a high standard of literary excellence, but the claim is preferred, that it possesses real historical value, inasmuch as all the principal events of the critical period through which the country has passed are here concisely and truthfully recorded. For these reasons the work is commended to the consideration of an appreciative public.

J. A. DACUS.

St. Louis, Mo., Sept., 1877.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Condition of the Country—The Duty of Patriotic Citizens—The Mistakes of Capitalists—The Faults of the Workingmen—The Poor Man's Hopes the Rich Man's Protection—The Conditions of Social Order.

Republican government in this country, has just been subjected to a strain greater than any which our system has been before required to sustain. It is true, that great armies were not organized to meet in the shock of battle as in the civil war between the North and South. Nor were powerful sections arrayed against each other. But the phases assumed by the recent conflicts are far more threatening to social organization and political stability, than was the terrible contest waged between sections from 1861 to 1865. In that collision, the North represented the idea of the organic unity of the several States of the Federal Government, the South the idea of State Sovereignty, but both represented the principles of social order, and contended for the reign of law. But we have witnessed an uprising of no mean magnitude, which represented nothing in common with the fundamental principles of Republican institutions. The history of the Great Strikes of 1877, affords materials for thought, a basis for the most profound reflections.

The causes which produced the results, so startling to the friends of liberal institutions, have not ceased to operate, and as a consequence the records of the events connected with the inception, progress and culmination of the disorders, must prove to be an interesting study to all thinking minds. The very foundations of American society have been disturbed; the whole political structure has been made to sway to and fro, as if about to be overthrown.

The strength, the fearful power, which stopped the wheels of commerce, closed the marts of trade, and threatened to engulf all wealth, institutions, social organization,—everything in the vortex of ruin, was not the offspring of a conspiracy, was not generated by elaborate planning, and did not result from mature deliberation. And in this very fact, the man of calm reflection discovers, not far ahead, the rocks on which the ship of State is likely to be driven—on which every hope of mankind may be wrecked. If it had been a deliberately planned and concerted movement; if those engaged in it had exhibited evidence of organization, then its failure would have given a better promise of enduring peace and order. But the spontaneity of the movement shows the existence of a wide spread discontent, a disposition to subvert the existing social order, to modify or overturn the political institutions, under which such unfavorable conditions were developed. Somewhere, there must be something radically defective either in the system, or in the manner of its control. Such spontaneous demonstrations by large masses of the people, as have been witnessed in the United States in the year 1877, do not take place without a sufficient

cause. To discover that cause and take measures for its removal, is one of the first and most important duties required of the patriotic citizen.

Theories in abundance have been advanced ; oracular assertions that this or that measure of the general government is responsible for the existing unrest, have been made ; the convenient talk about shrinkage in values ; the failure of the government to furnish the people with a sufficient supply of legal tender treasury notes ; the payment of the interest on the National debt ; the protective tariff ; the demonetizing of silver, all these have been assigned as the cause of "hard times," and to the "hard times," as the immediate cause, the scenes described in this work are attributed. But are these sufficient to furnish an explanation satisfactory to the student of social science ? Never before in this country—perhaps in no other country in the world—have so vast a number of men taken part in riots and strikes for increased wages. It was an impulsive, perhaps an imprudent outburst, and certainly it was characterized by violence and lawlessness, that cannot be palliated or excused. The supremacy of the law is an essential condition of social order, and without social order, the right to private property, the right to personal security cannot be assured. Social disorganization means political death. With the reign of anarchy commence the miseries of the people without distinction of class. In the throes of expiring society, all alike become victims.

But social disorders cannot take place in the midst of a prosperous community. The alarming movements of the present year are the logical results of the condition of society. They are but evidences of deep sufferings

among a large class of the people of this country. Somewhere great wrongs have been committed, and society must pay the penalty for crimes. The study of the natural causes that govern the rate of wages, is a study of the causes that distribute wealth to the mass of mankind. Capitalists cannot afford to oppress laborers, because such oppression endangers their own security. It is a fact that in those countries where the highest wages are paid we find the highest type of civilization, and a more equal distribution of wealth. Where a large majority of the people are poor, the few who are rich cannot be assured of protection. It is in the power of those above to lift up those below; but it requires time for the operation of moral and natural causes, while it is but the work of a day for the lowest to drag down the highest. The first ripple of disturbance to the industry of the country is felt soonest by those nearest to destitution, and the problem is how to remove that small number from want, and thus ensure social security. This cannot be done except as wealth is more bountifully distributed to them through higher wages. The part of wisdom, it seems, should dictate such a policy by the owners of capital. The American people are not yet ripe for anarchy, because perhaps a majority of the adult population either have homes, or cherish the hope that they will have homes, and because of this interest in the government, they are the staunch friends of order, and the upholders of law. But neither government nor social order can be maintained when the majority of the people are homeless and hopeless. The poor man's hopes are the rich man's protection. The condition of Mexico may be cited as an illustration of the position here taken. A country containing a pop-

ulation of upwards of nine millions of souls is owned by less than a hundred thousand proprietors. What has been the result of this ill-distribution of wealth? The answer is, fifty years of anarchy. The poverty of the masses is fatal to the security of the wealthy proprietors. In Mexico wages are at least fifty per cent. less than the average in the United States. That country has sunk beneath, even the contempt of the most enlightened nations.

But the evil results of low-paid labor should be anticipated in good season, before it inundates and overwhelms the nation, and destroys every hope of a successful republic.

It is cheap labor, more than any other fact, that most endangers our institutions—cheap labor serving corporate wealth, intent upon nothing but *more* wealth. Here is where capitalists make the gravest mistake, and the great strikes of the present year should be taken as a wholesome warning. Capitalists consider their direct interest in the cheap labor they hire, and not their indirect interest in the dearer labor that buys what wealth wishes to sell.

The number of laborers who can buy, must be large, or many of those who produce to sell will have little or nothing to do. Buyers are as important, in order to have prosperity, as sellers; and those who buy are those who have something with which to pay. Poverty demoralizes, destroys self-respect, and in time will make the honest laborer a dangerous member of society, by lowering his opinions. And this lowering of the opinions of the laboring class with respect to the mode in which they should live, is perhaps the most serious of all evils that

can befall them. Let them once accept the alternative presented by Henry Ward Beecher, and undertake to exist upon "bread and water," and become contented with such a condition, and they may bid a long adieu to anything better. It does not require a very profound observer to arrive at the conclusion that the best interests of society, the interest of the capitalists themselves, require that the rate of wages should be elevated as high as possible,—that a taste for comforts and enjoyments, should be widely diffused, and if possible, interwoven with national habits and prejudices.

But justice compels to the declaration that such has not been the policy of the managers of the great corporations in this country. They have persistently sought to reduce wages of the laborers, while at the same time there has been a gradual increase in salaries paid to the managers and their assistants. Thomas A. Scott while receiving one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars in salaries per annum, for managing property interests which in part belongs to himself, cannot very consistently insist upon a sum less than four hundred dollars per annum, as the proper compensation for the services of a man whose peculiar employment requires that he must be vigilant, prompt, and constantly exposed to danger. Then again, the system of watering stocks of railroads and other corporations, debars the managers from the privilege of pleading a failure to earn interest as an excuse for cutting down the wages of labor. Perhaps Wm. H. Vanderbilt is not able to secure ten per cent. interest on the stocks of the New York Central Railroad. But it must be remembered that the par value of the stocks of the New York Central Railroad, exceeds

eighty-two thousand dollars per mile, or upwards of fifty-five thousand dollars per mile more than the cost of the road—more than the actual cash investment. It is quite possible that Mr. Vanderbilt would have no difficulty in earning a dividend of fifteen per cent. on the actual amount of money invested, and have enough earnings left to make a handsome dividend to every employe of the road.

And here we find the immediate, potent cause of the Great Strikes. Depression in business, but more important still, depression in transportation rates brought about by the jealousies and hostility to each other of Thomas A. Scott, John W. Garrett, and William H. Vanderbilt, rendering it necessary to reduce operating expenses in order to “make something,”—that is ten per cent. on their largely increased amount of stock. The lower order of laborers were first to feel the weight of this curtailment of income. Meanwhile the higher grades of employes were still receiving salaries not much less than were obtained ten years ago, when the whole country was enjoying unparalleled prosperity. The higher officers of companies received higher salaries in 1876 than they obtained in 1866, notwithstanding the immense change in values which had taken place.

The reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of laborers, which was made by a majority of the railway companies throughout the country during the first half of the year 1877, was sufficient to evoke the earnest protests of the men affected by the curtailment of their income. Had the reduction on all the roads which have cut the wages of their employes, taken effect at the same time, it is probable that a general strike would have taken

place earlier in the season. But the date of reduction was not the same on any considerable number of the roads. Petitions and remonstrances from employes of railroad companies were received by their employers, but were wholly disregarded. A feeling of discontent was engendered, while the burden of "hard times" weighed more heavily upon workingmen.

The mine was already prepared, a spark only was necessary to cause an explosion. That was supplied by the action of the managers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The pressure put upon their employes elicited the spark, and the explosion followed. Commencing at Martinsburg, West Virginia, in less than three hours the strike was fully inaugurated, and had already reached Baltimore. The line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway was completely invested by the strikers in less than twenty hours. From the Baltimore and Ohio Railway the strikes extended first to the Connellsville branch, then to the Pennsylvania system, Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne, and other railways. In an incredibly short space of time, strikes had taken place in Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, and Missouri. Fifteen thousand men were engaged in the strikes.

The whole country was profoundly agitated. The uprising had assumed a dangerous aspect. A feeling of alarm and dread quickly succeeded the first impulsive feeling of sympathy entertained by the masses for the strikers. The vast numbers engaged in the strikes against the railroads, their apparent determination, the general belief that they were well organized and pre-

pared, produced a dangerous effect upon the idle and vicious classes in all the large cities. Labor unions were suddenly aroused into unwonted activity, and displayed alarming vigor. "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," which is but another name for the "International Association of Workingmen," which has caused so much anxiety to the governments of Europe, came forth from its shadowy coverts, and what had been regarded as a phantom party, assumed a realistic attitude that caused a thrill of astonishment and terror to fall upon the urban populations of the country. Nothing to compare with the demonstrations of the Internationalists in all the larger cities, by day and by night, had, at any time, been witnessed in this country.

In less than four days after the commencement of the strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, no inconsiderable portion of the territory of the United States was in the hands of the strikers; transportation was embargoed; shops closed, factories deserted, and the great marts which but a few days before had been so noisy, had become silent as "banquet halls deserted." Men remembered France, and the scenes of 1789-93, and trembled as they heard the tumult increase, and saw the mighty masses of strange, grimey men, excited by passions, dark and fearful, surging along the streets.

Then was flashed abroad over the land news of the fusilade at Martinsburg, and the conflict in the streets of Baltimore. Blood had been shed! Men wondered what would be the final outcome. The prevalent alarm was intensified. In many cases State and municipal authorities seemed to have been stricken by a paralysis of dread. Meanwhile, the strikes were increasing.

Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Buffalo, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, and numerous other places began to feel the effects of the mighty wave of human passion which threatened to engulf all in a common ruin.

Pittsburgh was doomed to feel the most terrible blow from the mob or the Internationals. The news of the conflict between the militia and the rabble; the temporary success of the latter, and the immense destruction of property which followed, was received by the whole country with amazement and grief. The sympathies of the masses of the people, which had unquestionably been with the railroad strikers, was now withdrawn in a measure. Even the strikers themselves felt constrained to disown the elements who had made an opportunity of their necessity, to create a reign of terror throughout the land. The reaction against the strikers, and those who claimed to be their allies, was positive and practical. Men sprung to arms with a feeling that it was necessary to protect the sanctity of their own homes. The spirit of turbulence evoked by the strikers must be crushed.

Such were the sentiments which actuated the men, who hastily banded themselves together in companies, battalions and regiments, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri. Within less than six days, an army of citizen soldiers had been created in the states named, which in the aggregate numbered more than sixty thousand men, armed and equipped, ready for service.

Meanwhile the Internationalists were not idle. The railroad men's strikes was made their opportunity. The atmosphere of social disorder favored their designs. M.

K. Goldsmith, Secretary of the National Board of Supervisors of the American branch of the order, from his headquarters in Hartford, placed himself in immediate communication with the local Sections, all over the country for the purpose of advising and encouraging them. Citizens P. Van Patten and Geo. Schilling, of Chicago, who are prominent members of the organization, were also warmly enlisted in the cause of the "Party;" while in St. Louis, Curlin, Curtis, Cardell, Ratz, Porter, Cope and Sykora, held daily and nightly meetings, to induce the proper degree of enthusiasm among the masses of workingmen. In New York, Justus Schwab, John Swinton, Michael Doyle, Paul Kaiser, Frank Coufal and Frank Bartosek, organized a great mass meeting in Tompkins Square, where the principles of the Internationalists were elaborately discussed.

Indeed, the three hundred and sixty-five sections of American, German, French, Bohemian and Scandinavian Internationalists, located in twelve states of the Union, were all active.

The appearance of this organization as allies of the strikers, had much to do in alienating public sympathy from that class of the workingmen, who it was believed, had a just cause to strike. It is also certain that the bold utterances, and audacious demands of the Internationalists, stimulated the organization of military forces adequate to the work of suppressing all disorders.

The history of the movements alluded to in these introductory pages must prove deeply interesting to the student of American social institutions. It is well to preserve it. Perhaps there may be other and even greater strikes, but it is improbable that this country

will ever be visited again by a movement so spontaneous, yet so vigorous and threatening. A great danger has apparently passed. As a nation, we should profit by the warning it affords.

CHAPTER II.

STRIKE ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

A Circular to Employes—Ten per cent. Reduction in Wages Announced—How the News was Received—A Delegation of Employes—The Officers of the Road will not Reconsider—Commencement of the Strike—Trains Stopped at Martinsburg—Trouble at Baltimore.

In the beginning of July, 1877, a circular emanating from the offices of the superintendents of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, was sent to all the employes of the Company, announcing a reduction of 10 per cent. from the wages which the Company was then paying. This curtailment of the income of the employes on the road, was to take effect on Monday, July 16th, 1877. This schedule of wages, according to the circular, reduced the pay of firemen from \$1.75 and \$1.50 per day, to \$1.58 and \$1.35 per day, according to the efficiency of the men. The pay of brakemen was fixed at a little less. One hundred miles was made to constitute a days' run. No allowance of time was permitted for delays at way stations.

The reception of this circular created no little ill-feeling among the railroad men. Groups of them met, and discussed their situation. The men asserted that they could not sustain themselves on the amount of wages the company proposed to pay them for their services. Meetings of employes were held at various points along the line of the road, and finally a plan of action was agreed upon.

A committee was appointed and instructed to confer with the officers of the company. Mr. Vice President King was appealed to, but declined to hear the complaints of the employes. Various efforts were made to procure the rescission of the order of reduction. These proved abortive. Meanwhile as the time fixed for the order of the Company to go into effect approached, the discontent of the men increased. At many localities along the road, small bodies of men expressed themselves in favor of striking. But it does not appear that up to the morning of the 16th, any concerted movement had been agreed upon by the firemen and brakeman of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

The morning of the 16th of July, 1877, at length dawned. Along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, everything presented the usual appearance. Trains were moving; foundry men, machinists, engine drivers, firemen, brakemen, trackmen, switchmen and agents were at their posts of duty. The commerce of a large section of country was moving over the iron trackways. The officers of the road, too, were at their respective offices, little anticipating that within the space of twelve hours, a strike, such as was never before known in the history of America, would be inaugurated along the line of that great highway. Intimations of coming trouble the managers of the road had had, but they trusted that the "hard times," would deter the men from carrying into execution any purpose they might have formed of deserting their posts of duty on the road.

The day wore on. The click of the telegraphic instruments in the office of the superintendents of the respective divisions, announced the arrival and departure

of trains to and from a thousand stations situated along a line of more than fourteen hundred miles of railway. There was no trouble as yet; and the lengthening shadows announced the day's decline. The afternoon was far advanced, and the officers of the great railway line had already begun to congratulate themselves, because the danger of a general strike appeared to have passed way.

But their self-gratulations were doomed to a sudden arrest. It was after five o'clock in the afternoon, when the announcement was made in the general offices of the Company at Baltimore, that a strike of the employes on the road was in progress at Camden Junction, near that city. About forty firemen at that point quit their engines, and persuaded twenty or thirty brakemen to join them in deserting their trains. As yet no intelligence had reached the managers of the road of disturbances elsewhere. Another force of firemen and brakemen were engaged to take out the waiting trains. But the trains were not taken out. The freight business of the road had been already completely embargoed. The trouble at Camden Junction appeared to have been easily disposed of, and for a time the officers anticipated nothing worse.

But it soon became manifest that the officers had misapprehended the nature and character of the movement among their employes. Reports came in rapid succession from the West, announcing that the railroad men at Cumberland, Martinsburg and other stations along the line were restless, discontented and insubordinate, and that the canal-boatmen had quit work and abandoned their boats. Under these circumstances, all

movements of freight over the road practically ceased.

Meanwhile, the situation at Baltimore was every hour becoming more critical. Before six o'clock the box-makers, sawyers, and can-makers, engaged in the shops and factories of that city, had struck for an advance of ten per cent. on their wages, had abandoned their places and swarmed into the streets. The demonstrations of these workingmen only stimulated the railroad men to commit bolder acts. It became evident before the evening had far advanced that a general strike of railroad men all along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio line was inevitable.

At Martinsburg the excitement became very great, and the situation was alarming. Late in the evening a general strike was set on foot. All freight trains were stopped, and brakemen and firemen who manifested an intention to continue at their posts, were forcibly taken from their engines and trains by the strikers, and compelled to join in demonstrations against the Company they had ceased to serve. At Cumberland the situation was anything but reassuring. A considerable number of striking trainmen had assembled at that place and prohibited any movement whatever of trains, other than mail and passenger coaches. At Keyser and Grafton, the trainmen had obtained complete possession, and no freight trains were permitted to move.

Before midnight of the 16th, the control of the immense property of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, had passed out of the hands of the officers, and was held by the strikers. The disposition manifested by the recalcitrants at Martinsburg, had become so threatening, that Vice President King, of the Balti-

more and Ohio road, sent a dispatch to Governor Matthews of West Virginia, calling upon him to furnish troops to protect the interests of the Company.

Late the same evening, Governor Matthews, sent a dispatch from Wheeling to Captain Charles James Faulkner, Jr., in command of certain companies of State militia at Martinsburg, to afford the officers of the road all the aid and protection in his power. No collisions as yet had occurred.

The first act of the strikers involving injury to persons, was committed at South Baltimore, at about two o'clock, the morning of the 17th. A freight train from the West, bound for Locust Point, was thrown from the track while passing the gas house switch in that suburb, and almost demolished. The cab of the engine took fire and some destruction of property ensued before the flames were subdued. The engineer and fireman, were both severely wounded. No other incident worth recording occurred during this the first night of the reign of the strikers.

But it was already evident that a formidable movement of the workmen throughout the country was imminent. Indeed, the greatest labor strikes ever known was now fairly inaugurated. Less than ten hours had passed since the canal-boatmen, the box makers, the sawyers, the can makers, and the trainmen had definitely resolved on quitting their employments, and already more than four thousand persons had joined in the strike, refusing to labor themselves, and determined to prevent others from taking their places. But even with the evidences of the fitness of public sentiment to foster and encourage a strike, no one at the close of the first day

after the strike began could have anticipated the tremendous uprising to which the events about Baltimore and Martinsburg were but the prelude.

But, if the developments during the first ten hours of the strike, while the movement was yet in its incipient stage, were sufficient to engender feelings of uneasiness in the public mind, the events of the following day justified the sensation of intense alarm.

Martinsburg, a city of no great extent, occupying a romantic site in a valley among the mountains of West Virginia, was destined to be the scene of the first real conflict between the representative forces of the State and the strikers. At an early hour on the morning of the 17th, Captain Charles James Faulkner, Jr., Aid-de-Camp to Governor Matthews, arrived at the post of duty at Martinsburg, in command of seventy-five men of the Berkeley Light Guard Infantry. He had been ordered to protect that point by the Governor, who had been applied to for aid by Vice President King of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.

Captain Faulkner at once proceeded to the railway track and deployed his men as a guard for a West bound freight train, which the Railway Company determined to dispatch in spite of the orders of the strikers. The train started, and had proceeded nearly to the switch at the Company's yards, when suddenly one of the strikers, named Wm. Vandergriff, ran forward and seized the switch-ball for the purpose of opening it to "side-track" the train. At this time the train was moving slowly. A guard of militia was on the engine. The movement of Vandergriff was observed by John Poisal, a member of Captain Faulkner's command, who immediately sprang



THE MOB ASSAULTING A MEMBER OF THE MILITIA.

from the pilot of the engine where he had been stationed, and attempted to replace the switch in order to allow the train to proceed. Vandergriff resented this action, drew a pistol and fired two shots at the militia-man, one of which took effect in the side of his head. Poisal returned the fire, shooting Vandergriff through the hip. This firing led to a regular fusilade. A number of shots were fired at Vandergriff and he was shot in the head and arm. The report of firearms, speedily attracted to the spot a great multitude of railroad men and citizens. The excitement was intense. The engineer and fireman who had engaged with the Company to run the train, fled when the firing commenced. Captain Faulkner ordered the mass of strikers to keep back, and commanded them to disperse. This order was received by them with jeers and threats. Finding that the engineer and fireman had deserted the train, Captain Faulkner declared that he had fully discharged his duty, marched his command to their armory, where they were disbanded, leaving the strikers in full possession of the field. The road was now completely blocked up with standing trains. The cars were all uncoupled, and the links and pins were either hidden or broken.

During the day the force of strikers at Martinsburg, was greatly augmented. The citizens of the town, the disbanded militia, and the rural population of the surrounding country fraternized with them, and encouraged them in the determination to persist in their demands.

Railroad men from the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway also arrived in considerable numbers at Martinsburg

during the day. At three o'clock in the afternoon it was estimated that the strikers and their allies at Martinsburg numbered not less than one thousand men. The State authorities were powerless. Telegraphic messages passed between the Governor and the officers of the road. The Governor himself, with the Matthews Guards, left Wheeling for Martinsburg, and proceeded as far as Cumberland. But he hastily returned from that point to the Capital on receiving intelligence that the strike had reached that city, and that all freight trains were being stopped. The police and constabulary force of the municipality could afford no protection to trainmen who were willing to continue in the service of the Company. The two military companies at Martinsburg, openly affiliated with the strikers. Another company of volunteer militia was thirty-eight miles from any railroad. The Matthews Guards at Wheeling, numbered but forty-eight men, and even the loyalty of these was not to be depended on in this emergency.

At night the situation at Martinsburg, Cumberland, Grafton, Keyser, Wheeling, and indeed all along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was critical in the extreme. The canal-boatmen were with the railroad men at Martinsburg, and the citizens all along the line were apparently sympathizers. Meanwhile, rumors of an alarming character concerning movements among railroad, and other classes of workingmen all over the country, were circulated in all directions. In the portion of country most affected, a sort of dread of impending disasters had taken possession of the friends of law and order. Lawlessness reigned supreme from the Patap-

sco to the Kanawha. The second day of the great strikes closed. The movement had become formidable. Men experienced a feeling of intense alarm at the prospects before them.

CHAPTER III.

A DAY OF DREAD.

The Strike Continues—The Governor of West Virginia Confesses his Inability to Suppress Disorders—An Appeal to President Hayes—Proclamation of the Chief Magistrate—Military Companies Disarmed by Strikers—The Third Day of the Strike, and the Alarms it brought—Wide Extent of the Disorders—Portentous Mutterings.

The events of the 17th were of an unusual character in this country. The strikers had gone further than persons engaged in such movements had been accustomed to go. In countries where the struggle for life is keener than in America, such incidents to a strike as an attempt to murder, and the theft of tools and implements necessary to conducting a business, are common. But the attempt of Vandergriff to kill the militiaman Poisal, because he undertook to adjust a switch to permit a train to pass, taken in connection with the destruction or concealment of the links and pins, necessary in the movement of trains, showed the authorities the desperate nature of the enterprise in which the strikers were engaged. It revealed the existence of a determination on their part to enforce their demands at every hazard. The situation the morning of the 18th was alarming. The strikers had been reinforced during the night at all points by accessions of workingmen engaged in other avocations than railroading. They had grown bold because they knew they had the sympathies

of the people with them, especially in that portion of West Virginia where the strike had assumed the most threatening aspect.

The Governor of the State of West Virginia, apprised of the extent of the lawless combination, found himself in the humiliating position of complete inability to deal with the issue. Powerless to suppress the disorders, appealed to by the managers of the railroad for that protection which he was unable to afford; harrassed by the knowledge that a large portion of the people whom he governed were in sympathy with the turbulent strikers, and tormented by the evidence that the few militia at his command were unfaithful to their duty, the position of Governor Matthews was sufficiently disagreeable.

The movement had now become so formidable that State authority could no longer assert supremacy. Under these circumstances, the Chief Executive of the commonwealth of West Virginia, was constrained to appeal to the Federal Government for protection and assistance in quelling the riots which had taken place.

During the afternoon of the 18th, Governor Matthews perceiving his inability to deal with the emergency, with no little reluctance, forwarded to the President of the United States the following formal appeal for the intervention of the federal power in suppressing the disorders in his State :

WHEELING, W. Va., July 18.

To His Excellency R. B. Hayes, President of the United States :

Owing to unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and other points

along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it is impossible with any force at my command to execute the laws of the State. I therefore call upon Your Excellency for the assistance of the United States military to protect the law-abiding people of the State against domestic violence, and to maintain the supremacy of the law. The Legislature is not now in session, and could not be assembled in time to take any action in the emergency. A force of from two to three hundred should be sent without delay to Martinsburg, where my aid, Colonel Delaplaine, will meet and confer with the officers in command.

HENRY M. MATTHEWS,

Governor of West Virginia.

Upon receipt of this call at Washington, President Hayes at once dispatched a messenger for the Secretary of War, who immediately answered the summons by repairing to the Executive Mansion. A brief consultation between them followed. The result was the conclusion that the information contained in the call was not sufficiently definite to warrant the President in employing the military forces of the United States for such purposes.

It was agreed, however, that the Governor of West Virginia be called upon to furnish more definite information, and accordingly the Secretary of War was instructed to send a dispatch to Governor Matthews, requesting complete information. The Governor's reply showed that there were but four militia companies in West Virginia, two of which had already fraternized with the Strikers at Martinsburg, a third was in an interior

county, thirty miles from any railway line, and the fourth consisted of only forty-eight men, while the Governor estimated the force of strikers massed at Martinsburg, at not less than eight hundred men.

Notwithstanding his reluctance to interfere in the matter, the President esteemed the emergency one of sufficient gravity to justify him in taking decisive action. Accordingly he issued the following proclamation, the same evening:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The Governor of the State of West Virginia has represented that domestic violence exists in said State, at Martinsburg, and at various other points along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress; and

Whereas, It is provided in the Constitution of the United States, that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against violence; and

Whereas, By laws in pursuance of the above it is provided (in the laws of the United States) that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, to call forth the militia of any other State or States, or to employ such part of the land and naval forces as shall be judged necessary for the

purpose of suppressing such insurrection or causing the laws to be duly executed ; and

Whereas, The Legislature of said State is not now in session and cannot be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the Executive of said State, under section IV. of article 4 of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has made due application to me in the premises for such part of the military force of the United States as may be necessary and adequate to protect said State and the citizens thereof against domestic violence, and to enforce the due execution of the laws ; and

Whereas, It is required that whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force for the purpose aforesaid, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within a limited time ; now, therefore,

I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby make proclamation and command all persons engaged in said unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before twelve o'clock, noon, the nineteenth day of July instant, and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State, and I invoke the aid and co-operation of all good citizens thereof to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this eighteenth day

of July, in the year of our Lord, 1877, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and second.

(Signed,)

R. B. HAYES.

By the President.

F. A. Seward, Acting Secretary of State.

Orders were issued from the War Department, to General French, commanding at the Washington arsenal, requiring him to take all the available troops from that station and proceed at once to Martinsburg. At the same time like orders were forwarded to General Barry, in command at Fort McHenry, to detach all available forces from that post to join the forces under command of General French at the threatened points. A force of seventy-five men was got ready, chiefly members of batteries acting as infantry, officered by Captain J. I. Rogers of Battery L., commanding, Captain James E. Wilson of Battery H., and Lieutenants Crawford and Hoyle, Taylor and Curtis; the detachment of Light Battery A., was commanded by Lieutenant Niles. The force from the Washington Arsenal was organized under the following named officers; Battery D., Captain Litchfield; Battery C., Captain Graves; Battery F., Lieutenant Simpson; Battery E., Lieutenant Gifford; Battery I., Lieutenant Howard, and Battery G., Lieutenant Smith. These troops were armed as infantry, the full strength of the battalion was about two hundred and fifty men. General French commanded, Lieutenant Wolfe Acting Adjutant and Lieutenant Maurice Acting Quarter-master. The whole force was in readiness to proceed on their way to Martinsburg at an early hour in the evening.

The marching of troops through the streets of the National Capital created a profound sensation among the citizens. It was the first time in the history of the country that a labor strike had become so formidable as to require the intervention of the general Government to preserve order. It was nine o'clock at night when the armed battalion of regulars filed through the streets of Washington on the way to the station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to embark on the train to proceed to Martinsburg. A vast concourse of people had assembled to witness their departure. The scene was not unlike some of those which characterized the early days of the year 1861. The train moved away from the station at ten o'clock in the evening, bound for the scene of the disturbance.

Meanwhile bands of strikers had taken possession of the railway stations at Cumberland, Grafton, Keyser, and other points, and refused to allow any freight trains to pass. Emissaries were dispatched from the headquarters of the strikers at Martinsburg and Wheeling, to induce the firemen and brakemen; along the Connellsville Branch, the Pennsylvania road, the Pittsburgh and Chicago, and other railroads in that section of the country to join in the strike. During the day the strikers at Wheeling made a demonstration of a rather threatening character. The single company of militia at that place paraded for action. But it was evident that it was not strong enough to effect anything, and so the citizen-soldiers allowed themselves to be quietly disarmed by the striking workmen.

The strikers at Martinsburg received the President's proclamation with indifference or positive disrespect.

No attention whatever was paid to the injunction to disperse. On the contrary, with constant accessions to their numbers, they became more demonstrative and threatening in their bearing.

During the day, a committee of strikers at Baltimore prepared and caused to be printed and circulated a statement of the causes which impelled them to pursue the course which they had adopted. They declared that they had submitted to three reductions of wages in three years; that they would have acquiesced in a moderate reduction; that they were frequently sent out on a trip to Martinsburg, and there detained four days at the discretion of the company, for which detention they were allowed pay for but two day's time; that they were compelled to pay their board during the time they were detained, which was more than the wages they received; that they had nothing left with which to support their families; that it was a question of bread with them; that when times were dull on the road they could not get more than fifteen day's work in a month; that many sober, steady, economical men became involved in debt last winter; that honest men had their wages attached because they could not meet their expenses; that by a rule of the company any man who had his wages attached should be discharged; that this was a tyranny to which no rational being should submit, and that it was utterly impossible for a man with a family to support himself and family at the reduced rate of wages.

These statements of the striking employes were not without effect in awakening sympathy for them among the great mass of the people.

Anticipating the approach of the regular troops under

General French, the Martinsburg strikers proceeded to the Sand House, an advantageous position a short distance west of the town, and proceeded to erect barricades, and to take other measures for defense. At this point their forces numbered about four hundred and fifty men.

It was now evident that the strike was destined to spread to other roads than the Baltimore and Ohio. Mysterious journeys were undertaken by non-communicative laboring men; workingmen's unions all over the land held meetings nightly; small bands of operatives were constantly meeting and discussing the situation, and everywhere was manifested a feeling of unrest among the working classes. Nor was evidence wanting of a deep under-current of popular sympathy with the object aimed at by the West Virginia strikers.

The close of the third day after the commencement of the strike witnessed the following condition of affairs: The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was still held by the strikers. The State militia of West Virginia had either disbanded and had been absorbed by the strikers, or had been disarmed by them; the Governor of West Virginia, confessing his powerlessness, had appealed to the President of the United States for assistance in suppressing the disorders in his State; the discontent of railway operatives was manifested in an alarming degree; workingmen engaged in other avocations had given unmistakable evidence of sympathy with the cause of the railroad men, and gave ominous hints of a purpose to join them, and to still further complicate matters, railroad managers were demanding the intervention of the Federal Government in their behalf to protect them while operating their roads.

Meanwhile General French with a force of regular soldiers of the United States was preparing to move from Washington on Martinsburg for the purpose of suppressing the strikers.

The movement had already become too great for control by the State government. The national administration had been appealed to, and the great strike was fully inaugurated. Mutterings, deep, and significant, from a thousand different points, portended the storm which was ready to sweep the country with unexampled fury. The day had been one of dread, not because of what had occurred, as on account of forebodings of what the future would bring to pass.

CHAPTER IV.

CULMINATION OF THE CRISIS.

Soldiers and Strikers—Fears Realized—From Baltimore to Chicago—
Pittsburgh Affected—The Pennsylvania Railway Embargoed—In-
tense Excitement Throughout the Country—Successful Emissaries
—Immense Extent of the Labor Movement.

The apprehensions entertained by those who had carefully watched the progress of the uprising among the working classes, were verified by the developments of the 19th of July. Martinsburg, West Virginia, was still the center of interest on the morning of that day, but before the close of the day so many events had occurred; so many movements had been commenced; so wide-spread had become the disaffection among the workmen in every department of industrial enterprise, that it was impossible to foretell with any degree of certainty in what direction to look for the next startling denouement.

General French had arrived at Martinsburg in command of a considerable body of regular troops at six o'clock in the morning, and had established his headquarters in a Pullman palace car on the track in front of the Berkeley House. About fifty men of the Matthews Guard had come up the road from Cumberland, and were quartered in one of the machine shops of the Railroad Company, awaiting the arrival of the regulars from Washington. The night trip of the special train, bear-

ing General French and his command, was accomplished without any attempt to interfere with its progress. Great caution, however, was observed, and the time required to complete the journey was greatly extended. The mass of strikers and their friends at that place received the regulars without demonstrations of any kind. The soldiers were drawn up in line. The order was given to open cartridge boxes. This movement created something of a sensation among the sullen, ragged assemblage of negroes and strikers, and the mass shrank back at the revelation of leaden balls contained in those boxes. The battalion was then marched to one of the railway machine shops, which they occupied as barracks. Seventy-three locomotives with their trains were at this time held at Martinsburg. The strikers manifested no disposition to resist the military forces of the United States. The Railroad Company undertook to send out a number of the embargoed trains after the arrival of the military, but experienced great difficulty in finding men to run them, notwithstanding the protecting presence of the soldiery. As many as five men were engaged to fire on one train, and each in succession deserted before the train had proceeded to the outer limits of the town. The Railway Company found itself in a position which justified offering any terms which might be demanded, to men willing to run their trains. But no men were to be obtained.

About ten o'clock an attempt was made to start a freight train from Martinsburg toward Baltimore. A locomotive was fired up, while guarded by the military; a large company of strikers had assembled; the Sheriff was present with a posse; an engineer named Bedford

was found willing to go, and he mounted to the cab. But he did not run the train out. The strikers did not menace or threaten, and yet he failed to remain at the post of duty he had assumed. Just as the train was about to move away Bedford's wife rushed from the crowd, mounted the engine, and with agonizing cries besought him to leave the position. The engineer heeded the entreaties, and departed from the engine, followed by the fireman, which conduct elicited prolonged cheers from the strikers and their sympathizers. Another engineer was found, but he too was entreated to give up the undertaking and yielded. William M. Clements, General Agent of the Company at Locust Point, then boarded the engine and proceeded on the road to Baltimore without interruption, probably due to the fact that twenty regulars were on board. During the day two other trains, one bound East, and the other West, were despatched, after much difficulty experienced in finding men willing to serve as engineers and firemen. But the blockade was not raised. The Railway Company had all the military protection that could be desired, but men could not be procured to operate the trains, for any consideration. Money was powerless to accomplish the wishes of the managers, at least for the present. It was easy to guard property; easy to prevent violence by a show of force; easy to assure protection to willing hands, but there was no law to compel men to work if they did not chose to do so. Here military force was a failure.

Early in the day General French caused to be printed a large number of copies of the President's proclamation for distribution among the people. The police and

constabulary were entrusted with the duty of distributing them. But this work seems to have been unproductive of results.

At two o'clock in the afternoon orders were given to clear the tracks of the railway at Martinsburg, and a squad of about twenty regulars under Lieutenant Lewis, proceeded to execute the order. No resistance was offered. The strikers quietly retired to the high grounds overlooking the yards and tracks, and good naturedly watched the movements of the soldiers. During the day a meeting of the strikers was held, at which it was decided to demand two dollars per day for firemen and brakemen, and no reduction of the salaries of engineers and conductors. A committee was appointed consisting of a fireman, brakeman, engineer and conductor, to confer with similar committees of all other sections.

An attempt was made during the day to arrest ten of the ringleaders of the strikers, on a charge of inciting to riot. Warrants for their apprehension were issued and placed in the hands of Sheriff Naderbusch for service. That officer summoned a posse and procured the services of a person named Engelrecht to act as a guide, and point out the persons accused. Going into the throng of strikers, they were quickly surrounded and Engelrecht, being menaced, refused to designate the men, and the attempt failed. No personal violence was offered the Sheriff or his men.

Later in the day, the arrest of Richard Zepp, supposed to be the master spirit among the strikers, was effected by the Sheriff. Zepp was committed to jail and a strong guard placed about it. He is a native of Martinsburg, is about twenty-five years old, is regarded as a man of

undoubted courage and determination, and has served as a brakeman on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the last five years. In person, he is rather below the medium height; is decidedly prepossessing in appearance, and is a man of more than average intelligence. He is not addicted to strong drink; is fond of amusement; generally quiet in demeanor, and is exceedingly popular among his acquaintances. He has a wife and one child, who reside at Martinsburg. Before night Zepp was released from confinement by giving bail. He is said to be a man of no small executive ability, and is reputed to have furnished the intelligence for the Martinsburg strikers.

An important meeting of unemployed workingmen, was held at Cumberland, at which more than five hundred persons were present. The proceedings were quiet and orderly, notwithstanding efforts made by some of the speakers to arouse the men by inflammatory appeals.

The most note-worthy of these addresses was made by John D. Jones, who declared that the masses of the people had been plundered and robbed by the knaves and scoundrels who had grown rich by stealing from the poor men the produce of their labor. He thought it was time the down-trodden masses should rise in their majesty and execute vengeance. The ill-timed speech was not received with favor. Another speech not much less inflammatory was delivered by Bernard O'Donnell. It was announced that about twenty families of persons out of employment through no fault of their own, were actually in a condition verging on starvation. Information to the effect that citizens of Cumberland had contributed in money and provisions about one hundred and

ten dollars for the relief of the destitute was laid before the meeting.

The animus of the speeches at this meeting is the feature which renders a notice of it important in this place. It was a wide spread belief among a large class of people in the lower ranks of society, who were reduced almost to stravation, that they had been wronged and oppressed beyond all endurance, that made the scenes witnessed in so many of the great cities of the country possible. It was an out-cropping of the dreadful doctrines of the Commune which subsequently played so important a part in the great popular commotion accompanying the labor strikes.

At Parkersburg the feeling among the employes had become very bitter against the Railway Company. They claimed that the Company was in arrears with the men, and it was unpardonable to cut their wages under such circumstances. The shops of the Company were closed at that point, and more than two hundred men connected with the road were thrown out of employment.

During the day about two hundred canal-boatmen, the most turbulent strikers who had yet appeared, proceeded from Cumberland to Martinsburg, and afterward proceeded to Sir John's Run, twelve miles east of the last named point, and there established themselves, and proclaimed their purpose to either stop or wreck all trains that attempted to pass.

At Grafton the number of the strikers was constantly increasing. No freight trains were allowed to pass East or West. The strikers established headquarters in Brinkman's Hall, where an important council was held between committees representing all the sections of the road.

The firemen and brakemen employed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at Newark, Ohio, numbering one hundred and fifty, struck on account of the 10 per cent. reduction, and proceeded to lay an embargo on all freight transportation. Officers of the road immediately applied to Governor Young for protection and assistance. The strikers at this point assumed an equally determined attitude with their brethren of West Virginia and Maryland. M. L. Dougherty, master of traffic on the Ohio division, had a conference with the Newark strikers, and offered to pay the old rates to such of the men as would volunteer to go out with trains. The offer was declined.

Governor Matthews having called for volunteers to suppress the rioters, twelve men who had responded to the call, were sent to Martinsburg with a militia company. Arrived there they refused to serve against the strikers, and in disgust returned to their homes.

President John W. Garrett, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, forwarded to President Hayes a rather singular document. In this he has "the honor to urge" the President to comply with the formal request of the Governor of West Virginia. The document is sufficiently remarkable to justify the transfer of a copious extract from it to these pages. The Railway King wrote to the President of the United States:

"I am informed that Governor Matthews, of West Virginia, has telegraphed your excellency that, owing to unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and at other points along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it is impossible for any force at his command to execute the laws of the State, and has therefore called upon the government for the

assistance of the United States military in this great and serious emergency. I have the honor to urge that the application of Governor Matthews be immediately granted. It is impossible for the Company to move any freight train because of the open intimidation of the strikers, and the attacks that they have made upon the men in the service of the Company who are willing to work. Unless this difficulty is immediately stopped I apprehend the gravest consequences, not only upon our line, but upon all lines in the country, which, like ourselves, have been obliged to introduce measures of economy in these trying times, for the preservation of the effectiveness of railway property. May I ask your excellency, if the application of Governor Matthews be granted, to have me immediately advised, through the Secretary of War, of the points from which troops will be sent, in order that no delay may occur in their transportation. If I may be permitted to suggest, Fort McHenry and Washington are the points nearest to the scenes of disturbance, and from which a movement can be made with the greatest promptness and rapidity. It is proper to add that from full information on the subject, I am aware that the Governor of West Virginia has exerted all means at his command to suppress this insurrection, and that this great national highway can only be restored for public use by the interposition of United States forces. From an imperative sense of duty I am impelled to join in asking immediate action in order to prevent the rapid increase of difficulties in the use of the lines between Washington city and Baltimore and the Ohio river."

A meeting of miners in the Piedmont district was

held on the 19th, at which strong resolutions of sympathy with the railroad strikers were adopted. The miners promised support and substantial assistance to the railroad men.

At Baltimore, no important demonstration took place. The strikers were comparatively quiet, apparently awaiting the turn of events in other parts of the country.

July 19th, 1877, will long be remembered by the students of American history as being the day in which the opening events in a tragic episode of destruction and death took place at Pittsburgh. During the day not a train of freight cars was moved on the line of the Pennsylvania Central Railway. The strike had extended to the employes of that great thoroughfare. But the story of events connected with it must be reserved for a future chapter of these annals.

The Great Strike at the close of the fourth day of its existence extended from Baltimore to Chicago, and the general alarm was becoming more intense with the flight of every hour.

The situation was becoming extremely critical. It was now evident that other elements than railroad employes were destined to take part in the conflict. Mechanics, artisans and laborers in every department of human industry began to show symptoms of restlessness and discontent that boded no good to the country. All day, the 19th, committees and representatives of workmen's associations and unions, and societies, were holding meetings for conference at Baltimore, at Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Reading, Scranton, Grafton, Wheeling, Columbus, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, in fact in every center of population and seat of commerce from

the Atlantic shores to the base of the Rock Mountains. What did these semi-mysterious conferences mean? There is not in existence a particle of evidence that there was concert of action between the different branches of the wage-receiving classes, previous to the strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. It appears then, that the careful preparations going on to engage in general strikes was a spontaneous movement, generated of wide spread and deep seated discontent among the entire laboring classes of the United States.

To complicate matters still further, the speeches and addresses made at meetings and conferences held during this day, fore-shadowed the appearance on the scene of an element of all others, the most to be dreaded—the Internationalists, and Communistic Societies. It was evident before the close of the fourth day of the strike, that the mobs in every large city in the land were preparing for action; that they were desperate, and that they would not hesitate to inaugurate a reign of terror more dreadful than that which appalled the civilized world in France. There had been no conflict of arms during the day, but the smouldering volcano gave token of an eruption. It was the quiet that precedes the devastation of the tornado. Before another day closed the storm had burst in all its fury, and the American people entered upon their eight days experience of a reign of terror.

CHAPTER V.

RIOT AND RUIN.

Progress of the Great Strikes—Social Disorders—"The Dangerous Classes"—The Commune Comes Upon the Scene—Intense Excitement Throughout the Country—Dealings with Death in Baltimore—Alarm Throughout the Country—Proclamations and Orders.

Those who had cherished the hope that the consequences of the railroad strike along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway would be local and limited, were doomed to be disappointed. The strikes were extending in all directions. It was no longer the railroad men, as a class, who were involved. Other classes of laborers had become enlisted. The situation had become extremely critical. The very foundations of society were shaken in their lowest depths. Like the wild tumult and commotion of a midnight storm, sweeping across both land and sea, with vivid flashes of lightning illuminating its pathway and giving new awe to its ravages, was the mighty current of passion and hate which threatened the destruction of both the social and political institutions of this country on the 20th day of July, 1877. From the very first the cause of the strikers had been gathering strength. In West Virginia the masses of the people were open in their sympathy toward them. Everywhere there was an undercurrent of sympathy with their object. Thus far the railroad men had committed few, or no acts which the general

public regarded as lawless. From the Baltimore and Ohio road, on which the first trouble occurred, the strike had extended to the Connellsville Branch, the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne, the Erie, and the Great Pennsylvania Railway System. To the bands of railroad strikers had come a nondescript assemblage of canal-boatmen, truckmen, unemployed mechanics and artisans belonging to various trades, and more dreadful than all, vast swarms of vicious idlers, vagrants and tramps. The whole mass had been transformed into a lawless mob. In the cities the rabble composed of vagabonds, tramps and thieves, were on the alert, ready to plunder, burn, and cut throats on the slightest provocation.

To complicate matters, in all the principal centers of population and seats of trade, the Internationalists, an association with which the American people had heretofore had small acquaintance, became suddenly extremely active, and dangerously bold. The Commune, even worse than the Internationalists, joined in the tumult, and boldly demanded concessions which would have proved subversive of all government, all social order. Coal miners came from their black pits and joined their voices to swell the universal tumult.

Such was the condition of affairs in the most populous and wealthiest regions of the country on the morning of the 20th of July. The conferences, and mysterious assemblages of the previous day had not been unproductive of effects disastrous to the supremacy of law and the good order of society. It was a time of dread even to the coolest and most daring.

The strikers had invoked a power which they themselves could not control. While the contest was between

them and their employers, while they committed no other unlawful acts than such as impeded operations of railways, while they confined themselves to petty acts of annoyance to the public and injury to railway companies, there can be no question as to the fact that a vast multitude of people sincerely wished them to be successful. Right or wrong, there was a feeling abroad that to stop a train, not only by quitting work themselves, but by actively interfering to prevent others from working, was at most but a venial fault, an error perhaps, but scarcely a violation of law. There is too much of the opinion entertained by the masses that the property of corporations is not to be regarded in the same light as the property of individuals. And this wide-spread error rendered it possible for such scenes as we are about to describe, to be enacted.

While centers of interest had multiplied indefinitely during the 18th and 19th, yet the chief interest was still concentrated at Baltimore and along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as late as the 20th and even after that date.

The meeting at Cumberland, Maryland, held on the 19th, and an account of which is given in a former chapter, created no little uneasiness in the minds of those in authority; not so much because of what was done, as on account of what was threatened. The speeches of Jones, O'Donnell and others on that occasion, unquestionably had a bad influence on the more recklessly disposed members of the mass of strikers there assembled. So threatening was the condition of affairs at that point, that the officers of the Railway Company, made application to Governor Carroll, of Maryland, for a military force to

protect their interests. The strikers included canal-boatmen, and some mill-men and other laborers, together with a few of the railroad strikers, who had retired from Martinsburg after the arrival of General French with the regulars at that point, had taken up a position at Sir John's Run, a dangerous place on the road some twelve miles from Martinsburg. This band now numbered some four hundred persons, and had degenerated into a turbulent, lawless mob. The presence of the military at Martinsburg had enabled the Railway Company to despatch a large number of their delayed trains from that station. But the strikers at Cumberland, Sir John's Run, and other places, not having the fear of General French and his regulars before them, resolved to stop all trains that attempted to pass. Accordingly, the rioters at the first named place, proceeded to switch off every train that arrived from the East or the West, and drag the engineers and firemen off the locomotives, in many cases handling them very roughly, and threatening them with severer treatment if they attempted to operate trains on the road during the continuance of the strike.

At Sir John's Run, the turbulent mob there assembled, stopped a train which was guarded by soldiers, climbed upon the engine, and threw the engineer and fireman to the ground. This mob had procured arms, and was prepared to resist a considerable force. Many of them were supplied with Henry and Winchester repeating rifles, and from this circumstance were able to overawe any train-guard likely to be sent out.

Meanwhile, train after train was dispatched from Martinsburg. They commenced to move them at seven

o'clock the morning of the 20th, and moved a train both East and West every thirty minutes. Few of these, however, reached their destination on time. Early in the day General French issued stringent orders, forbidding any person to approach the yards and tracks of the Railway Company, under any pretence, no matter whether friendly or hostile. Strong guards were posted, and a picket line thrown out to enforce this order. Only the persons connected with the operation of the trains were permitted to enter the guarded precincts.

The strikers sullenly retired to a neighboring height, whence they viewed the operations below, and occasionally taunted the trainmen while engaged at their work. The assurance of protection, with offers of extra wages, had its effect on engineers and firemen who were idle, and by the morning of the 20th the Company had no difficulty in securing all the men they wanted. The small force at his command rendered it impossible for the commander of the federal forces at Martinsburg to afford sufficient guards for all the trains.

In the afternoon General French issued the following order of warning to the rioters :

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS, }
MARTINSBURG. W. Va., July 20, 1877. }

Due notification having been given by the proclamation of the President of the United States to those concerned, the undersigned warns all persons engaged in the interception of travel on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that the trains must not be impeded, and whoever undertakes it, do so at their own peril.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. FRENCH,
Brevet Major-General United States Army,
Colonel Fourth Artillery Commanding.

It was also determined to break up the encampment of the mob at Sir John's Run. Accordingly, a train was sent out and with it went Captain Litchfield, with two companies of soldiers to the point of disturbance. On the approach of the troops, the canal-boatmen betook themselves to the Maryland side of the river, or to their boats. Two trains with fires out, which had been stopped by them, were fired up and sent on to the West. A detachment of troops were left at this post to overawe the mob, and afford protection to passing trains. The strikers everywhere expressed a determination to hold out until their demands were complied with. A mob numbering about eight hundred men took possession of a portion of the track of the railway near Baltimore, and compelled all trains which started out to be backed into the yard again. This gang was not composed of railroad men, but consisted of unemployed and vicious persons of the city, in sympathy with the strikers.

Lieutenant Curtis, commanding a detachment of regulars, was sent by General French to afford protection to the trains. The result of the expedition is thus related by that officer, in a despatch to General French.

"The train was stoned at Sir John's Run, but no one was injured. The rain doubtless prevented a large gathering. Reached Cumberland without molestation at 12:45 A. M. Torpedoes on the track notified the strikers at Keyser of our coming. The regular engineer and fireman were taken off by the strikers and the train run on a siding. About one hundred strikers are at the depot now. My detachment is too small for effective operations, and there are poor accommodations. Shall I remain here, retire to Cumberland or return to Martinsburg?"

The force at his command not being sufficiently large to warrant any further reduction, Lieutenant Curtis was ordered back to Martinsburg. Practically the attempt to open the road through the aid of the military forces of the United States, had come to an end, as the strikers had possession at Cumberland, Keyser, and several other important stations.

The situation at Cumberland had become alarming. There the strikers, their sympathizers, and whole troops of tramps who had come in and joined them, numbered about five hundred men. The men in the large iron works in the place were discontented, and at the point of joining the lawless bands. Towards the close of the afternoon, the crowds of idlers had increased to such an extent, and become so threatening in their demonstrations, that an urgent appeal was telegraphed to Governor Carroll for assistance. The Governor had already been advised of the critical condition of affairs at that point, and had immediately on his arrival in Baltimore consulted with the railroad officials as to the best means for suppressing the disorders, and had arrived at a determination to send General Herbert, with the Fifth Regiment, Maryland National Guard. In pursuance of this purpose, the following order was issued :

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }
BALTIMORE, July 20, 1877. }

*Brigadier-General James R. Herbert, Commander
First Brigade, Md. N. G.*

SIR:—You will proceed at once with the Fifth Regiment of your command to the city of Cumberland to aid in the suppression of riot and lawlessness along the line

of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in this State, and there await further orders.

(Signed)

JOHN LEE CARROLL,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

The Governor being fully informed of all the facts bearing on the wild disorders in a portion of his State, resolved upon issuing the following proclamation, which was at once made public.

GOVERNOR CARROLL'S PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of the Executive that combinations of men have been formed at various points along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in this State, and that a conspiracy exists, the object of which is to impede the traffic and interfere with the legitimate business of the said Railroad Company ; and,

Whereas, Various acts of lawlessness and intimidation to effect this purpose have been perpetrated in this State by bodies of men with whom the local authorities are, in some instances, incompetent to deal ; and,

Whereas, It is of the first importance that good order should everywhere prevail, and that citizens of every class should be protected ;

Therefore, I, John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, by virtue of the authority vested in me, do hereby issue this, my proclamation, calling upon all citizens of this State to abstain from acts of lawlessness, and aid lawful authorities in the maintainance of peace and order.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Maryland, at the city of Baltimore, this twentieth day of July, 1877.

(Signed) JOHN LEE CARROLL, Governor.

By the Governor,

R. C. Holiday, Secretary of State.

In obedience to the orders of the Governor, General Herbert summoned the officers and men of his command to repair to their armory on North Howard street at once, and there await further orders. This order was promulgated about three o'clock in the afternoon. The men began to assemble, but without alacrity. At five o'clock not more than one hundred men were found to be present. A train to carry them West was being prepared, and the militia-men then assembled in the armory on North Howard street fully expected to be transferred to the seat of war out in the mountain regions of the West. Such, however, was not to be the case. Baltimore was even then on the eve of one of the most momentous events in her history. The Spirit of violence was brooding over the city—was destined to have her streets reddened with blood before the sun rose on the morrow.

All the afternoon the crowds at various points in the city had been augmenting with every passing hour. About the railway depots, especially, there were dense masses of people congregated. There was an unwonted air of excitement visible among the pedestrians, who poured through the streets. The Mayor, through information obtained of the police, was convinced that the city was in danger of riotous demonstrations.

In the neighborhood of the armories vast masses of people had collected, and these hooted and jeered the assembling militia-men. In the neighborhood of the armory of the Fifth Regiment, in North Howard street, the thoroughfares were literally packed by a throng of people of all ages, and both sexes. Women taunted the soldiers, and cheered for the strikers. Nor were the feelings of the mob vented alone in tantalizing language. A crowd of roughs stationed themselves on the sidewalk, opposite the armory, with bricks and stones, and in some instances pistols, and began to throw at the soldiers within, through the windows. The appearance of a militia-man at a window was greeted by a perfect storm of missiles. Several shots were fired. The gathering soldiers had great difficulty in forcing their way through the crowd, and ran the risk of being torn in pieces when they attempted to effect an entrance into the building.

Moment by moment the storm of passion gathered in volume and force. It was evident that the situation of the city was perilous in the extreme. The police force was powerless to effect a dispersion of the rioters. Disaster and death threatened to walk hand-in-hand through the streets of the ill-fated city.

During the day, the German section of the Internationalists, otherwise known as "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," held a largely attended meeting at their hall at Nos. 43 and 45 East Pratt street, and discussed the situation. Christopher Hesse, made a speech, in which he declared the present movement was a revolution, and offered the opportunity to the Internationalists to carry out their principles. "The government,"

He said, "should own all the railroads, and the working-men should constitute the government." He called upon them to rise and assert their rights, even though it should be necessary to deluge the streets of Baltimore in blood.

Another meeting of the same character was held in the afternoon at No. 20 Bond street. The persons who attended this place were principally Bohemians and Poles. An individual named Frank Wovrinna, a late importation from Prague, seemed to take the lead in this demonstration. His sentiments and purposes were on a level with those expressed by Hesse.

At No. 261 Battery avenue, still another convocation of the Internationalists assembled, and one John George Ricker, seemed to breathe the spirit of his own fiery nature into the small band of tramps who had assembled there. He, too, was for war, swift, terrible, relentless, in order that the wrongs of workingmen might be redressed.

These people were dealing with death in their desperate venture. It was such counsel as they could give, which led to the deadly volley that caused the streets of Baltimore to be stained with blood that same evening. To the scenes and incidents of the night of the 20th in the city of Baltimore, we must devote more space than can be afforded in this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TOCSIN SOUNDS IN BALTIMORE.

The Gathering Mob—Thronged Streets and Angry Men—Terrible Exhibition of Passion and Temerity—Soldiers Stoned by Rioters—Sharp Volleys and Sudden Deaths—A Night of Terror—Alarm Bells—The Torches' Red Glare.

The sun was still high above the horizon when the crowds in the streets of Baltimore had increased to such an extent, and manifested so turbulent a disposition, that the authorities were forced to realize the imminent danger which impended over the city. Peaceable citizens trembled when they beheld the surging masses of passion-blinded workingmen in possession of the thoroughfares. It was a threatening throng. In the neighborhood of the armories, gangs of men and boys, and even women, had collected and hooted and jeered the assembling militia-men. Those crowds were composed of a few railroad men, workers in machine shops, factories, mills, founderies, and vast numbers of those who live by preying upon others—thieves, professional ruffians, the scum of the city, jail-birds, or those who were hurrying with rapid steps to enter prison doors, drunken loafers, tramps just returned from making a circuit in quest of food and the pickings of rogues, with a considerable intermixture of peaceable citizens who had come out to gratify an idle curiosity, and been drawn into the seething mass of grimy workingmen and odorous thieves. The excite-

ment was intense, and the tide of passion rose with every passing moment.

The Mayor and the Commissioners of Police foresaw the coming storm, and realized how powerless they were to arrest its fury if the militia should be withdrawn from the city.

Meanwhile the militia regiment which had been ordered to Cumberland, were slow to obey the summons of the sergeants, and had not yet prepared to march to the Camden depot to take the train. The attitude of the street crowd was fearfully threatening. All along the route which it was expected the troops would take on their march to the station, the streets were thronged by dense masses of people, engaged in discussing the situation. The passer-by needed not to inquire on which side the sympathies of these throngs were bestowed. They were, as a mass, the friends of the strikers.

Mayor Latrobe, at once issued a proclamation, reciting the riot act, and ordering the mobs which had collected at four different points in the city to disperse. But proclamations had no effect on the aroused passions of the dangerous classes. What did they care for law, when they already felt themselves sufficiently strong to subvert all lawful authority? Later in the afternoon Governor Carroll received a communication from Mayor Latrobe, which he embodied in the following order to General Herbert :

BALTIMORE, July 20.

*Brigadier-General Jas. R. Herbert, Commanding
First Brigade M. N. G.*

SIR: I have just received the following communication from Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Mayor of Baltimore :

BALTIMORE, July 20.

His Excellency John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland.

DEAR SIR: In view of the condition of affairs now existing in this city, and the violent demonstration that has taken place within the last hour, I would suggest that neither of the regiments of State militia be ordered to leave Baltimore this evening. I make this suggestion after a consultation with the Commissioners of Police.

Very respectfully,

(Signed)

FERDINAND C. LATROBE,
Mayor of Baltimore.

In consequence of the above request, the order to proceed to Cumberland with the Fifth Regiment is hereby revoked, and you will hold the men under your command ready to aid the city authorities in case they should be required in preserving order throughout the city.

(Signed)

JOHN LEE CARROLL, Governor.

It was past six o'clock in the evening when collisions between the mob and the police and militia became alarmingly frequent. At this time the streets were literally overflowing with excited crowds of people. It was now evident to the most temporizing that a collision could not be avoided. The authorities must put down the mob, or be over-ridden by it. Hesitation was out of place, and delay dangerous.

The want of alacrity on the part of the militia in assembling, induced General Herbert to cause the general militia alarm to be sounded. This step was not approved of by Governor Carroll. The number 151, the militia

call, was tolled from all the alarm bells. The excitement was terrible. It was the first time in the history of the city that the dreadful tocsin had fell upon the ears of the citizens. The wildest commotion ensued. The people poured into the streets in every quarter of town, and rushed excitedly towards the City Hall Square. Women and children, old and young men, constituting vast streams of humanity, flowing at the same time on all the streets, through which access to the square could be had, with awe inspiring tumult, moved onward to the common center of interest. Again the dreadful bells pealed forth 151; and the shouts and cries, cursings and prayers of that maddened throng, composed as it was of every class, but most largely of reckless, idiotic, drunken, imbecile, poverty-stricken, unwashed, grimy men, seamed with every line which wretchedness could draw or vicious habits and associations could fix on human faces, presented a spectacle that made one feel as though it was a tearful witnessing in perspective of the last day, when the secrets of life, more loathsome than those of death, shall be laid bare in their hideous deformity and ghastly shame.

Meanwhile the Fifth Regiment, Maryland National Guards, had completed preparations and marched by a different route from that anticipated by the rioters, to the Camden Station, and thereby avoided any serious conflict on the streets.

The alarm sounded from the City Hall called the members of the Sixth Regiment, Colonel Clarence Peters in command, to hurry to their armory, corner of Fayette and Front streets. In front of this armory a mob numbering three or four thousand persons had

assembled. The demeanor of this mass was very threatening, and it was with great difficulty that the soldiers could assemble. Shortly after eight o'clock orders were given to this regiment to move out towards the Camden Station which was threatened by a great mob of malcontents. The roughs began to make more active demonstrations. A perfect storm of bricks, stones and other missiles were hurled at the building. The windows were watched, and when a soldier appeared a shower of missiles and pistol balls were at once aimed at him. It was with exceeding difficulty that the soldiers could make progress through the densely crowded streets. They were followed on the march by a vast mob, who with demoniac yells and blasphemies ceased not to pelt the marching column with bricks, stones—anything they could seize, capable of inflicting wounds. The militia behaved as if wanting in coolness and courage. But as yet no reply was made to the incessant peltings of the mob, which every moment became more daring.

The marching detachment was in actual danger of being overwhelmed by sheer force and weight of numbers. When the troops had reached the intersection of Frederick and Baltimore streets, the mob pressed so closely upon them that they were constrained to protect themselves. No command to halt was given; no orders to fire, but the men acted without orders. A sharp rattle of musketry rang out above the tumult of the mob. A whistling of bullets was heard, men were seen to drop, cries of agony were mingled with curses and howls of rage. Women screamed and fainted on the streets; children mingled their piercing cries with the general uproar. There was a shrinking back of the crowd for a moment,

and the militia marched on. But the rioters quickly rallied and by the time the troops had proceeded two squares the throng was as great as before, and the mob threatened to rush upon and disarm and murder the soldiers in the streets. When opposite the office of the *American*, newspaper, another halt was called, and another volley of bullets were poured into the midst of the howling mass of men who pressed upon the marching column. Men sank in their tracks and expired. This second discharge was received by the rioters with mingled cries of agony, threats and jeers. Paving-stones were gathered from the streets and hurled by strong arms into the ranks of the soldiers. The determination of the mob was a fearful exhibition of aroused passions. The momentary check given the rioters was taken advantage of by the militia to continue their march. But again the mob rallied and assailed the troops as the head of the column turned into Charles street. Another halt, another fusillade, a few more dead on the streets, was the result. Then the soldiers proceeded, amid the hoots and jeers of a maddened populace, to the depot.

The Fifth Regiment had already arrived at that point. The mob collected there was vast in numbers, and threatening in demeanor. The malcontents were ordered to disperse; but they paid no attention to the command. The lower part of the depot was in the undisputed possession of the rioters. The engineer and fireman of the train which had been got ready to convey the Fifth Regiment to Cumberland, had been forcibly taken from their engine, and threatened with death if they dared approach it again. As the Fifth Regiment approached the depot it too was assailed by the mob, with showers





THE MOB FIRING THE CAMDEN STREET STATION.

of missiles. Several soldiers were hurt by being struck. The soldiers dared not attack the mob until reinforced by the Sixth Regiment. When that regiment arrived the rioting began. The soldiers formed in line, and charged bayonets. The gleam of the bright steel in the gaslight had a magical effect on the courage of the rioters. They shrunk back aghast at this exhibition of death-dealing implements. The depot was cleared of the mob in a short time. A strong guard was placed about the grounds to protect the property. The mob, however, was not conquered. Threats that the depot would be burned were made. At 10.30 o'clock a fire was started at Camden Station. At first the rioters refused to allow the firemen to play upon the flames; but at last the fire was extinguished without doing much damage.

Subsequently two fires were started in the southern part of the city, which, however, were extinguished without involving very heavy losses.

The mob still held all that district of the city, and boldly declared their purpose to destroy all property situated in that quarter, if their every demand was not complied with. All the shops and warehouses of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company are located in the portion of the city which was held by them.

The order of the Governor countermanding the order to send away the troops, was of the very first importance. Without the presence of these troops, Baltimore would have been completely in the power of the "dangerous classes," for it was the vicious and depraved that now came forward as leaders of the workingmen. There was much more need for soldiers in the metropolis than at the wayside station of Cumberland.

During all the time while the military were dealing with the mob at the depot, the excitement throughout the city had gone on increasing. Nine o'clock, ten, eleven, twelve, one o'clock came, and still there was scarcely any perceptible diminution in the numbers of people thronging the streets. The spectacle was something fearful. The loud mouthings had given place to deeper cursings. The froth of the first ebullition of passion had been swept away by the breath of an intenser hate. Men cursed society, defied all law, and swore to wreck the peace of mankind by inaugurating a reign of social chaos. The streets had been stained with blood; "ten lusty lives had been snuffed out" by "the whiff of volleys of bullets." Twenty-three more strong men, who had rejoiced in the strength and vigor of manhood when the sun went down, were now mangled and helpless. The scent of blood whetted the appetite of the mob for more blood. In the hour of madness, society encounters its gravest perils. Then the bonds of union are broken.

The names of the killed by the volleys fired into the mob by the Sixth Regiment on its way to the depot, were Thomas V. Byrne, Patrick Gill, Louis Sinovitch, Nicholas Rheinhardt, Cornelius Murphy, William Hourand, John Henry Frank, George McDowell, Otto Manck, and Mark C. Doud. Several of these were respectable and peaceable citizens, who had been drawn to the scene of disturbance by mere curiosity. Two more persons, James Roke and George Kemp, wounded at the time, died of their injuries afterward.

All night the excitement continued. The citizens of Baltimore were in a state of nervous anticipation, which banished sleep from their eyes. What would the mor-

row bring? What dire disaster come upon the city? These were questions each asked but which none could answer. The blind Polyphemus was directing blows from the mighty arm of the giant Briarins. Who could tell what blind fury might or might not do!

The two regiments of militia remained at the Camden Station during the night. The feeling against members of the Sixth Regiment was quite bitter. The members of that command could not leave the station the next day after the firing without risk. They had to secretly leave their quarters in citizens dress, without arms. To admit that one was a member of the Sixth, was to expose one's self to the danger of being torn in pieces.

It was evident that there were agencies at work outside of the workingmen's strike. The people engaged in these riots were not railroad strikers. The Internationalists had evidently had something to do with creating the scenes of bloodshed. The threats of their leaders made at meetings held the same evening were evidently not merely idle vaporings. Women frenzied with rage, joined the mob and incited the men to stand firm in the fight. The scenes of the night of the 20th of July, 1877, in the city of Baltimore, were not unlike those which characterized the events in the city of Paris during the reign of the Commune in 1870.

So alarming had become the situation, so great and so determined had become the lawless elements, that Governor Carroll was constrained to appeal to the Federal Government for assistance, which he did by making a formal call on the President of the United States for troops, the same evening after the bloody fusilades.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INTERNATIONALISTS.

The Baltimore Mob Not Railroad Strikers—The Communistic Tendency in American Cities—Destructive Theories—Danger to the Country Threatened—An Element to be Feared—Some Account of the Origin of the Association.

The mob at Baltimore revealed the existence of an association in this country, which had hitherto been supposed to be confined to the old world. Taking advantage of the strikes of the railroad men, the "Workingmen's Party of the United States," suddenly revealed itself in almost every city in the Union, not only as an element in the general disturbance, but as the prompting power in all the movements made subsequent to the transfer of the seat of trouble from Martinsburg to the larger centers of population. The riot at Baltimore showed them behind the scenes, manipulating the populace, and organizing the rioters. Henceforth they appear inseparably connected with every movement made by the strikers, or mobs. The name "Workingmen's Party of the United States," had a certain charm for a large class of American laborers, who without examination, or much reflection, suffered themselves to be drawn into apparent affiliation with an association which holds views directly antagonistic to all sound principles of government, and wholly subversive of the doctrines which underlie the foundations of social order.

This so-called "Party" is neither more nor less than the organization known in Europe as "The International Association of Workingmen," which has cost almost every government on that continent no little uneasiness. The evidence of the conspicuous part played by the Internationalists in bringing about the bloody catastrophe at Baltimore, and in every subsequent collision between the authorities and the populace, is a justification for breaking off the narrative concerning events at this point, and devoting a chapter to that element in our political life, which, for the first time in our history, comes to the front and presents itself as formidable and dangerous.

The germ of the organization is apparently to be found in a visit made, in 1862, by a delegation of French workmen to the Universal Exhibition in London. This delegation travelled under the sanction, if not at the charge of the imperial government of Napoleon III. The keen foresight of the Perfect of Police could discover no good to come of this journey of artisans, and he would have interfered to prevent it, had not the express sanction of the Emperor induced him to countenance the proceeding. The acquaintance formed on that occasion, led to a correspondence, and that to a second meeting in 1863. On this occasion the imperial sanction was neither sought nor desired. The plan of International combination had taken form; and in the language of one of the earliest actors in the matter, "there was no time to organize; but the idea was thrown out, and it would already have been difficult to prevent its development."

After another year of preliminary action, a meeting was finally held in St. Martin's Hall, London, September 28th, 1864, at which the Association was fairly launched

on the social sea. It is important to observe that no political influence appears to have prompted this combination. Both the English and French leaders in the organization were strongly democratic in their views. George Odger, the English leader, was a liberal, and Lucien Tolain, was a member of the Left in the French National Assembly after the days of the Commune in 1871. But it is clear that in the St. Martin's Hall meeting, politics was not the subject which engrossed their chief attention.

Between the Association at St. Martin's Hall and the Leicester Square Colony of political exiles, there was in fact a marked coolness from the very first. The exiles were, after all, *bourgeois* in the eyes of the French members of the International, and neither had nor desired a share in a movement which had for its object, "the emancipation of the workingmen," and not the interests of Jacobinism ; while on the other hand the French founders of the International, were long distrusted by republicans, and charged with Bonapartist tendencies. What else could men expect who professed to represent the toiling masses, and to be republicans, who nevertheless stood aloof from political conspiracy ?

The form of organization adopted at St. Martin's Hall is simple but efficient. The business of the Association is managed by a General Council, which has its seat in London. This body, with the aid of Secretaries for the different languages spoken by the Internationalists, conducts the correspondence with the various Boards of Supervision in every country where the Association has an existence ; watches all events which affect the general interests ; shapes the business to be laid before the annual Congress ; collects and gives information, and in every

way performs the functions of a living bond of Union between the organized workingmen of different countries. The International has no President, that office having been abolished by a solemn vote of the Congress, held at Brussels, in 1868, as a relict of monarchism, even though but an honorary position divested of all power.

The Council at London is appointed by the Congress composed of delegates from all the branches of the International, and is therefore a sort of legislative body, which is supposed to represent the will of the mass.

The Congress itself is a peculiar body, drawn as it is from nearly all the countries in Europe and America. Its business is transacted in the English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Polish and Bohemian languages.

But what is the purpose of this Association? The statutes, framed in 1864, declare that the Association is founded in order "to procure a central medium of communication and co-operation between workingmen's societies existing in different countries, and aiming toward the same end, viz: the protection and advancement, the complete emancipation of the working classes." The preamble recites that the subjection of workingmen to capital is the source of all political, moral, and material servitude; that their enfranchisement is not a local or national problem, but concerns all civilized nations; and that their efforts in this direction ought not to tend to the establishment of class privileges, but to secure the same rights and duties for all. The design is to unite all societies of workingmen in every country into one great national society, subject always to the laws of the nation. "We wish," said the Secretaries of the organiza-

tion in Paris, "to found an association which by *study*, may bring on by degrees the emancipation of labor." "It is a Society for study, and not a new *Carbonari*," exclaimed Fribourg, one of their ablest orators at the Congress of Basle, in 1865. It is evident that the founders of the International were profoundly imbued with the conviction that capital now holds labor in subjection, and it is probable they all inclined to socialistic arrangements of some sort. Still, there is no evidence upon which a charge can be brought against them of entertaining designs of forcibly overturning existing society. But like thousands of schemers before, they have found it easier to arouse popular forces to activity, than to control them afterwards. There were men of learning and depth of thought in the earlier stages of the Internationals. Fribourg, Dr. Paepe, of Brussels, Garibaldi, Dr. Karl Marx, a man of remarkable erudition, and others. There was a rupture in the Congress of Lausanne, in 1867. The Socialists had gained an ascendancy. The roll of the Association at that time contained the names of men and women, little known for the most part except in the obscure history of that seething radicalism of which Brussels and Geneva are the foci. In the eyes of these men, Louis Blanc was a reactionary, Mazzini a friend of oppressors, and Garibaldi himself little better than an aristocrat in his ideas and opinions.

"The League of Peace and Liberty," met at Berne, in 1868. To this body the Congress of the Internationals, then in session at Brussels, sent a resolution of unexampled frankness, informing "the League," that its presence in the world was unnecessary, and recommending it to dissolve and inviting its members to join sections of the

Internationals. To a portion of the League this proposition was not unwelcome; and when, upon the introduction of resolutions favoring the equalization of classes and individuals, the extreme communist party finding itself in the minority, it withdrew in wrath, formed the "International Alliance of the Socialist Democracy," and declared itself a branch of the International.

This Alliance proclaimed itself atheistic, and demanded the political and economical equalization of all classes and both sexes, together with the ownership in common, not only of land, but of all instruments of labor and all other capital; and it even called for the uniform education of children from their birth, in order to remove all individual inequalities.

The adhesion of these rabid radicals was accepted by the International, and the alliance continued in existence for some years, when it was dissolved, August 1871, and "the incident of the socialist democracy," was declared by the London Congress of the International, to be "finished."

In this country, the Internationals were organized as early as 1865, but it does not appear that the Association grew very rapidly. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the first missionaries in the cause of this new phase of socialism, only sought to accomplish one of the objects of the International—viz, the fraternization and practical unity of all the workingmen's societies in the United States.

Accordingly we find Mr. W. H. Sylvis, President of "The National Workingmen's Union," in correspondence with the Congress of Basle. The letter breathes the true spirit of International sentiment.

"Our cause," says Mr. Sylvis, "is a common one; it is

a war between poverty and wealth. * * * * Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous moneyed aristocracy on the face of the earth. This moneyed power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot box ; if not—then *we will resort to sterner means*. A little *blood letting* is sometimes necessary in desperate cases.” This was written long before the panic and the date of “hard times.” The purpose was then felt to do what we have seen attempted.

Mr. Sylvis died in 1868, but his mantle has fallen on other shoulders. The ill-odor of “the incident of the Social Democracy,” the close alliance between the International and the people who overthrew the Column Vendome, and applied the torch to the Louvre in 1871, made the name distasteful to the masses of the people in this country. This fact induced a change of name to that of the “Workingmen’s Party of the United States,” without, however, modifying a single principle held by the Internationals in Europe, except in so far as modification was necessary in order to adopt it to the conditions of government and social organization here.

The policy of bringing all the workingmen’s societies into harmonious relations, has been sedulously pursued, and with a degree of success attending the effort well calculated to startle the conservative publicist. Perhaps in no county in Europe is the International in a more prosperous condition, as an organization, than in this country ; perhaps in no region is their relative numerical strength greater than in America. Fifteen weekly publications, serve as a medium of communication, and as a

propaganda of their principles. Since 1873, particularly, they have increased with amazing rapidity, and now have Sections in nearly all the States. The whole numbers of these Sections at present are three hundred and sixty, and the number of persons in organic affiliation is claimed to be more than six hundred thousand.

Nor are they destitute of leaders of culture and capacity. Mr. John Swinton, a capable journalist on the editorial staff of the *New York Sun*, newspaper, is an able champion of their principles.

The Board of Supervision is located at New Haven, Connecticut, with M. K. Goldsmith, as Secretary. The Executive Committee has its headquarters at Chicago, Illinois, Philip Van Patten, Corresponding Secretary, and George Schilling, Financial Secretary.

That "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," is the same in principle and purpose as "The International Association of Workingmen" in Europe, is sufficiently proved by comparing the platform of principles with the statutes of St. Martin's Hall, framed in 1864, and subsequently, in the main, re-affirmed by the Congress at Basle.

The following are their acknowledged formulæ of doctrines:—

The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, independent of all political parties of the propertied class.

The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.

The economical subjection of the man of labor to the

monopolizer of the means of labor, the sources of life lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence.

The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

All efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of concerted action between the workingmen of all countries.

The emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution upon the practical and theoretical concurrence and co-operation of the most advanced countries.

For these reasons, the Workingmen's Party of the United States has been founded.

It enters into proper relation and connection with the workingmen of other countries.

Whereas, Political liberty without economical freedom is but an empty phrase; therefore, we will in the first place direct our efforts to the economical question. We repudiate entire connection with all political parties of the propertied classes without regard to their name.

We demand that all the means of labor, (land, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals, etc.) become the common property of the whole people, for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and substituting in its place co-operative production with a just distribution of its rewards.

The political action of the party is confined generally

to obtaining legislative acts in the interests of the working class proper. It will not enter into a political campaign before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then in the first place locally in the towns or cities, when demands of a purely local character may be presented, providing they are not in conflict with the platform and principles of the Party.

We work for the organization of the Trades Unions upon a national and international basis, to ameliorate the condition of the working people and seek to spread therein the above principles.

The Workingmen's Party of the United States proposes to introduce the following measures, as a means to improve the condition of the working classes :

1. Eight hours for the present as a normal working day, and legal punishment of all violators.

2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence and dwellings included.

3. Establishment of bureaus of labor statistics in all States as well as by the National Government; the officers of these bureaus to be taken from the ranks of the labor organizations and elected by them.

4. Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers.

5. Prohibitory laws against the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial establishments.

6. Gratuitous instruction in all educational institutions.

7. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents to the injury of their employees.

8. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.

9. Abolition of all conspiracy laws.

10. Railroads, telegraphs, and all means of transportation to be taken hold of and operated by the Government.

11. All industrial enterprises to be placed under the control of the Government as fast as practicable and operated by free co-operative trades unions for the good of the whole people.

Such are the Utopian schemes of the organization, which stood behind the strikes; which prompted the mobs, and brought victims to death at Baltimore, at Pittsburgh, at Chicago, and Reading, and for a time threatened the institutions of the country with disaster and ruin.

Still, there is no just cause for alarm. The Internationalists are wanting in the coolness necessary to plan, and the faculty essential in effecting organization. Until men rise much higher, or fall much lower than they now are, community of property will not long command the support of any large body, except under the influence of religious fervor; and of that quality the Internationalists could not well have less. To collect a loose body of followers by exciting mere hatred of what exists is easy; but to direct the whole towards some specific substitute is not only difficult, but we may predict, impossible. The International draws its strength from agitation, created by an impression now universally pervading the laboring classes of the civilized world, that of the results of the progress of modern society labor does not enjoy its due share. That there is, right or wrong, a general uneasi-

ness and sense of injustice ; that there is, in truth, something to be righted, is undeniable. That a body like the Internationalists will ever discover what this is that needs to be righted, still more that it will ever right the wrong, we do not believe. The work both of investigation and of remedy must be done by cooler heads, by more instructed minds, and by men who will arrogate neither for capital, nor for labor, any unjust advantage. This work has been too long neglected, but it is a service which must be performed. And if properly performed, with sincere purpose, and concientions resolution, we hope to find the means of ending the present conflict of naturally harmonious interests, and of avoiding the chief danger which now threatens modern civilization. This done we shall hear no more of the International, except as it may continue to alarm and torment those who are not yet, just enough or sufficiently bold and strong to rise to the dignity of demanding equal justice to all.

The causes which make it possible for the Internationalists to exist in this country must be removed. They can only exist in an element of social unrest. They came forth recently only to pull down, they cannot build.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF ANARCHY.

The Commune in Baltimore—A paralyzed State Government—An Appeal to the President—A Perilous Situation—Apprehensions felt by the Administration—Another Riot—Clubs and Skulls—A mob of twelve thousand people—From the Atlantic to the Mississippi—The Country in an Uproar—Precautions—Unparalleled Demonstrations.

Startling as was the collision on Friday night, in the streets of Baltimore, that event had become but an episode—an incident no longer to be remembered before the close of another day. The smaller and less important was lost in the greater and more momentous events transpiring all over the country. What mattered a few volleys, what importance could longer attach to the death of ten or twelve obscure individuals in Baltimore, when the whole country was in an uproar, when no human foresight could determine that a reign of devastation and death, such as had never before afflicted the world, might not commence at any time? The appearance of the Commune, bold, audacious, apparently organized, was a matter for more serious concern than the death of a few roughs, and some innocent citizens by the fatal discharge of musketry in the streets of Baltimore. Strikes were occurring almost every hour. The great State of Pennsylvania was in an uproar; New Jersey was afflicted by a paralyzing dread; New York was mustering an army of militia; Ohio was shaken from Lake

Erie to the Ohio river; Indiana rested in a dreadful suspense. Illinois, and especially its great metropolis, Chicago, apparently hung on the verge of a vortex of confusion and tumult. St. Louis had already felt the effect of the premonitory shocks of the uprising wave of popular passion.

And yet in the public mind, there was no well defined fear of dreadful deeds to be committed by railroad strikers. The public mind was settled in the conviction that the strikers would interrupt traffic on the highways of commerce by quitting their posts, and even by threats and violence preventing others from taking their places, but such acts, if lawless, were regarded at most as but venial faults. There was an abiding confidence in the good character and honorable disposition of the working men as a class. The public refused to believe that a class of persons who had contributed so much toward building up the country by their toil, and devotion to duty, could in the short space of a few days become untamed savages—merciless plunderers and murderers.

It was not, therefore the fusilades, and the bloody results of the collision at Baltimore that engaged public attention. It was that which appeared "beneath the surface." The event itself was nothing, but that which was revealed by it, was everything. Behind the strikers men beheld a more dreadful force. It was the awful presence of that socialism, which has more than once made Europe tremble on account of its energy, its despotism, its fearful atrocities. The smoke had scarcely cleared away from the streets, when the character of the Baltimore mob was revealed in all its hideousness. The Commune had found a place in America. Taking advantage of the dis-

orders caused by the strike, these socialistic disorganizers appeared on the scene, and displayed a boldness and energy really awe-inspiring. Who could say that the *Red Lady* might not soon appear to garner a ghastly harvest of bodiless heads?

Events happening in other sections of the country, had called public attention away from the situation in Baltimore, and the region along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. But, the condition of affairs there was still critical in the extreme. The mob had not been subdued, scarcely even checked. True, the militia was able to hold the depot of the railroad, but the city itself was in imminent danger. About twelve hundred striking can-makers, box-makers, and other factory operatives, were thronging the streets. In the wake of these came the rabble, numbering thousands, and then came the railroad men, badgered and exasperated by the repressive measures adopted against them by the civil and military authorities, and behind them all were the communistic committees, acting upon each, manipulating and plotting, organizing and inflaming the minds of the lower classes, against the order of society, by appealing to their baser passions, and denouncing all whose condition in life was better than theirs as thieves and plunderers, who deserved almost any fate that the most infernal malice could suggest.

The day after the conflict, the Executive Committee of the Internationalists called a conference at No. 20 Bond street, to devise a plan of action in prosecuting a campaign "against the propertied classes." There is reason to believe that they deliberately encouraged the opinion among the rabble that to them belonged a por-

tion of the accumulated wealth of the city, and that it was not only the right, but the duty of the vagrants, thieves and tramps congregated in Baltimore; to proceed by force to possess themselves of their share. At all events the conduct of the mobs in the streets was overbearing and threatening. The experiences of the night before had not taught them any considerable amount of respect for the militia, and it was evident, to even a casual observer, that some formidable organized movement was on foot among the malcontents. Penetrated with this conviction; knowing the inefficiency of the forces at his command, and dreading the consequence of a failure to meet promptly any designs of the mob, Governor Carroll, at the time the mob fired the depot, decided to make a formal call upon the President of the United States for assistance. Accordingly, the Governor announced to the President that there were unlawful combinations in the commonwealth of Maryland which the authorities of the State were unable to successfully combat, and asking the assistance of United States troops. In response to this call, Secretary of War McCrary, telegraphed that he was directed by the President to say that assistance would be given to the extent of the power of the government, but intimating that it might be necessary to call on neighboring States for assistance. Adjutant General Vincent informed the Secretary of War that General Barry, at Fort McHenry, was convenient to the scene, and had three field pieces ready. General Barry was immediately ordered to report to the Governor of Maryland for orders. Meanwhile the President issued another proclamation, the second since the strikes commenced, couched in terms similar to those

employed on the former occasion, when called upon by Governor Matthews of West Virginia.

The Collector of the port of Baltimore, Hon. John L. Thomas, Jr., becoming alarmed for the safety of the Government property entrusted to his care, sent a despatch to the Secretary of War, requesting troops to protect it. The military posts about Washington and Baltimore were already drained of troops, and the Secretary of War replied asking a more definite statement in regard to the character of the troubles, and asking if he could not enlist citizens to protect Government property if authorized to do so. The revenue cutter Ewing, then lying in the harbor, was ordered by the Collector to immediately proceed to Locust Point, and take up a position to protect the Government bonded warehouses located there. Captain Fengar proceeded at once to carry out these instructions. General Barry, placing himself under the orders of Governor Carroll, brought up three field pieces and took up a position to command the piers and railway buildings at Locust Point.

The conduct of the Fifth Regiment Maryland National Guards, had won for that organization unqualified praise, and upon them the hopes of the citizens of Baltimore for protection largely depended. The Sixth had not been so successful in gaining the good will of the citizens, though it was conceded that its Commander, Colonel Clarence Peters, had particularly distinguished himself. It was the Sixth which was so persistently assailed by the mob the night of the 20th of July, and which had fired upon and committed such havoc among the rioters.

During the day, five hundred special policemen were

sworn in, armed and assigned to duty. Every exertion was made to be fully prepared for any emergency that might arise. The forces at command at best were weak to combat a reckless, wrathful mob, numbering many thousands. But the very best possible disposition was made of them, and as events proved the disposition of the forces was not uncalled for.

During the morning of the 21st the remains of the ten men killed by the Sixth Regiment of militia, the preceding evening, were removed from the Middle Police Station to their late homes. A vast multitude had collected. Each body had been placed in a coffin, and was borne from the Station house to the wagon which waited to receive it, on the shoulders of four police officers. A profound silence pervaded the vast assemblage, as the procession of policemen proceeded with their mournful work.

It was definitely ascertained that twenty-two persons in the crowd had been seriously wounded by the fusilades of the soldiers.

The soldiers who were wounded by the missiles of the mob were Lieutenant W. H. Rogers, Captain W. P. Herbert, Lieutenant Forney Spear, Sergeant Armstrong, Corporal Heywood, Sergeant Dull, Privates McKenzie, Lewis, Price, Wanderly, Shurry, Flack, and Lieutenant Sadler.

There were no outbreaks during the day, but it was evident the mob meant mischief after nightfall. It was surmised that the day had been employed in organizing and preparing for a night attack. Groups of men were observed in vacant lots, and other retired localities apparently engaged in deep and earnest conference. In halls,

in various parts of the city, mysterious meetings were held, and no little apprehension was felt that the night would bring scenes of riot and bloodshed.

But as the night advanced and no outbreak had taken place, the citizens began to congratulate themselves on their escape from the imminent danger which had impended. Up to ten o'clock nothing unusual had occurred. The streets were more crowded and the pedestrians who surged back and forth appeared more restless than in ordinary times, but that was all. At thirty-five minutes past ten o'clock, intelligence was rapidly diffused through the central portion of the city, that a mob, variously estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand men, had collected, and were moving on the streets converging on the Camden Station. Immediately the excitement became general. The force on duty at the Station was not sufficiently large to repel a mob of such overwhelming numbers. The report proved in the main correct. After eight o'clock, the guards on duty at the depot, became aware of a movement among the rioters. Crowds began to assemble on the streets leading toward the depot. Preparations were made to meet them. The picket lines were drawn in; the positions held by the soldiers were strengthened; orders were given to load with ball cartridges, and every possible precaution taken to prevent surprise by a sudden rush of the mob. The men stood to their arms in battle array.

Meanwhile, a large body of police was got ready, and marched rapidly toward the station on the Lee street side. By this time the mob was becoming noisy and demonstrative. Among the rioters were a considerable number of women and girls, who played the part of *pet-*

roleuses, boldly urging the men on to acts of outrage and bloodshed. The number of rioters in the vicinity is believed to have been not less than ten thousand. The police force marched briskly around, and struck the mass of rioters on Eutaw street, on a charge, at the same time firing their pistols, and routed them, making a breach through the throng. The rioters retreated in haste up Eutaw street, and began to tear up the pavement, arming themselves with formidable missiles. The police only paused long enough to secure the prisoners they had taken, when they again charged the mob, making a great noise by firing their pistols, which were charged with blank cartridges. The rioters had had no time to complete their preparations, to devise a plan of action, or even get well armed with paving stones. However, they made some show of resistance, but the police force wielding their clubs with great determination and vigor, speedily triumphed and once more put the mob to flight. About fifty of them were captured, taken to the station, tied with ropes, and laid out in the gentlemen's waiting room.

This vigorous assault of the police produced a very salutary effect upon the mob, which after some noisy demonstrations, such as shouting and jeering at the police and the soldiers, finally dispersed. The majority of the rioters captured proved to be young roughs. The appearance of women among the rioters was something unusual in this country, and the further fact stated that the women were the boldest and most heartless creatures in the mob, is a circumstance of no little significance. The night passed away without any further disturbance. Still the public mind was in a state of unrest, doubt and apprehension.

At Cumberland about three o'clock on the 21st, a train arrived from Keyser with two companies of United States regulars, under command of Captain Litchfield. There was a large number of strikers and roughs assembled at the depot. When the troops left the train the crowd derided them, and as they marched away to their quarters the rioters became so threatening that the soldiers were ordered to a halt, and brought their arms to "a charge bayonets," when the crowd fell back. This was the first instance since the commencement of the strike, that regular soldiers of the United States had failed to receive respectful treatment. Two other companies under Captain Rogers arrived at Cumberland later in the day.

The strikers at Cumberland were perhaps the most defiant of any along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A large number of them were Chesapeake and Ohio canal-boatmen, who had struck several weeks before, and another portion were Baltimore and Ohio rolling mill men who had been thrown out of employment on account of the Company "closing down" some two months before. There was now at Cumberland a force of one hundred and thirty-five regular troops, well equipped and provided with extra ammunition. The presence of the soldiers had a quieting effect upon the strikers. Nevertheless, they assumed a tone of semi-defiance. The Mayor of Cumberland was in open sympathy with the strikers, and was at no pains to conceal his opinions. When it was announced that a large party of canal-boatmen were on the way to that town, and a delegation waited on him, asking him to issue his proclamation closing the drinking saloons, he flatly refused to comply with the request. Colonel

Douglas, Aid-de-camp to Governor Carroll, had taken up his quarters at Cumberland. The Railroad Company was represented by Mr. Sharp, master of transportation, and Counsellor Cowan at that point.

The strike had now assumed such proportions; the public mind had become so excited; the popular feeling so divided, and the military resources of the country were so limited that the administration had become thoroughly alarmed at the threatening posture of affairs. The bold and persistent attack made by the mob on the militia at Baltimore, had awakened no little apprehension in the highest official circles at the National Capital. Washington itself was considered to be in danger. A consultation between the President and members of his Cabinet took place on the morning of the 20th, when it was decided that no further depletion of the military and naval forces at the capital ought to be made. The order which had been issued to send the Marine Corps to Baltimore was revoked, and they were ordered to remain with their arms ready to move at any moment. Later in the day the intelligence received induced the President and Cabinet to take other precautionary steps for the protection of the property of the Government, and especially to provide for the defence of the Treasury. In pursuance of this purpose troops were ordered from Fortress Monroe. The war-vessels *Swatara* and *Powhattan*, of the North Atlantic Squadron, were directed to take on board the sailors and marines stationed at Norfolk, and on the national vessels in that vicinity, and proceed at once to the Potomac, to remain at the Navy Yard, Washington. The effective strength of this force was not greater than seven hundred and fifty men.

They arrived the following morning ready equipped for immediate duty. All the metropolitan police of the district were summoned to duty. The gathering of the mob at Baltimore, which the police subsequently dispersed, and the grave apprehension created in consequence of that assemblage, of which facts the Government was apprised, was deemed an emergency of sufficient magnitude to call for immediate action. Accordingly two companies of marines were ordered from Washington at a late hour of the evening. As this force marched through the streets, a great crowd gathered along the route, saluted them with groans and hisses. It was a singular demonstration in the Capital of a nation, when its defenders were thus jeered by the populace. In the vicinity of the newspaper offices crowds had collected to read the dispatches as they were bulletined. Anything indicating the success of the strikers was loudly cheered.

A strong police force was placed on guard at the Treasury building. These civic guards were supplied with additional firearms.

A notice was served on the Agent of the Adams Express Company at Washington, requiring him to decline all valuable packages. In consequence the daily shipment of bonds and currency from the Treasury could not be made.

It was formally announced that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company would make no further efforts to run trains on their line for the time being.

Thus, the efforts of a gigantic corporation, supplemented by the whole power of the Government to protect and aid it, were ineffective to raise a blockade on one of

the great thoroughfares of the nation, when that blockade was enforced only by a number of stokers and brakemen without financial credit or political patronage. Thus the movement had gone on until the National Government found itself powerless for the time being to suppress it. The strikers had now become a mighty power. With a purpose of revolution, with organization and leadership, it was within the grasp of the railroad employes and other classes of laborers to have taken absolute possession of every commercial center in the nation; aye! even to have overturned the Government itself!

CHAPTER IX.

THE TROUBLE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Beginning of the Strikes—The Cause Assigned—The System of "Double Headers"—Formidable Character of the Movement—Freight Transportation Suspended—No Concessions—Measures of Repression Taken—Dangerous Indications in Pittsburgh.

Thursday morning, July 19th, 1877, the trainmen of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, apparently without previous agreement, refused to take out any freight trains from Pittsburgh. The strike was fairly inaugurated at that place. Not a freight train left the station that day. At night great strings of cars occupied the track between the city and the Stock Yards at East Liberty. The cause assigned by the men for their action was the determination of the Company to introduce what is known among railroad men as "double headers." The effect of this system is to enable the Company to dispense with a number of employes, and impose the duties performed by them on those allowed to remain. The employes claim, that by a "double header," which is two trains attached, with an engine to draw and one to push, that two trains were taken to Altoona, a distance of one hundred and sixteen miles from Pittsburgh, instead of one to Derry, which is forty-eight miles, which was formerly the run of a freight train crew, and regarded as a day's work. Under the new system of "double heading," two trains were required to be taken the whole distance to Altoona

by one crew, of brakemen and that for a day's work. This was regarded as a very great hardship by the trainmen, especially as they had been compelled to submit to a reduction of wages, amounting to ten per cent. which went into effect June first.

The action of the Company in reducing the wages and then immediately afterward attempting to impose double service on the men, aroused popular indignation outside of the ranks of the railroad men. Indeed the masses of the citizens of Western Pennsylvania believed that the Railroad Company was guilty of a flagrant act of oppression, and deserved the severest reprobation of every one possessing any conception of justice or sense of humanity. This wide spread sentiment among the people, gave to the strikers at once an immense moral strength, and went far to extenuate and excuse any acts of violence which they might commit in their efforts to obtain redress of wrongs which the public believed they endured. There is no evidence that the strike which commenced at the Pittsburgh freight yards had been pre-arranged by the trainmen.

The commencement of the troubles appear to have been the action of Conductor Ryan's crew which was to have taken out an early freight train that morning. These men sent a message to the train despatcher, informing him that they would not take out their train. The despatcher then ordered two yard crews to take out the cars. The yard men declared "that the service required was not according to their engagement," and declined to obey the order, when they were immediately dismissed from the service of the Company. Subsequently, Conductor Gordon sent two men to take out

an engine, but by this time the two yard crews which had been dismissed, and Conductor Ryan's crew which had struck were at the yard and positively refused to allow the men to run the engine out. Again an attempt was made by Gordon to send out an engine, but this time the strikers having been re-enforced drove the men away from the locomotive by stoning them.

After the trouble had once commenced at the outer depot, a party of the strikers at once proceeded to the East Liberty Stock Yards to have a conference with the train and yard men there, which resulted in the whole number of them joining in the strike. The trains were all run on sidings and left standing. The strikers then took complete possession of the main track, and stopped all freight trains whether bound east or west. In all cases the crews, of arrested trains, joined with the strikers. Before noon the striking trainmen had gained so rapidly in numbers that they could enforce any demand they might choose to make. A party of them proceeded to Brinton, the same evening, and stopped a west bound freight train at that point. Not a freight engine on the Pennsylvania Railway was suffered to be moved during the day in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.

That evening, at Phoenix Hall, on Eleventh street, a meeting of trainmen was held at which the following ultimatum, to be presented to the Company, was agreed upon, and a committee appointed to present it :

"1. The undersigned, a committee appointed by the employes of the of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railway, hereby demand from said Company, through its proper officers, the wages, as per departments, of engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen, received prior to June 1, 1877.

2. That each and every employe that has been dismissed for taking part or parts in the present strike, or meetings held prior to or during said strike, be restored to their positions held prior to the strike.

3. That the classification of each of said departments be abolished now and forever hereafter; that engineers and conductors receive the same wages received by engineers and conductors of the highest class prior to June 1, 1877.

4. That the running of double trains be abolished, excepting coal trains.

5. That each and every engine, whether road or shifting, shall have its own fireman."

The excitement had become intense along the line of the road. A brakeman named McCall had made an assault on one of the officials of the road, for which he was arrested. The strikers took sides with him and threatened to release him by force.

A meeting of all the workmen of Pittsburgh was called to assemble on Friday evening. To this mass convention it was expected that representatives of every trade would come. The different trades-union of the city had already signified their hearty sympathy, and had made offers of moral and material support to the railroad strikers. Although the strike only commenced a few hours before, yet it had become formidable for mischief.

The Sheriff of Alleghany County, at the request of the railroad officials, about twelve o'clock at night visited the headquarters of the strikers at Twenty-eighth street, and ordered them to disperse. This they refused to do. Sheriff Fife remained there until after three o'clock in

the morning, but his authority was defied. He was frankly informed that trains should not go out if they could prevent it, and they did not care for any posse he could muster, or any troops that could be brought against them. Finding the strikers were determined not to yield to the civil authorities, the Sheriff resolved upon appealing to the State Government for aid. Accordingly he sent a despatch to the Governor at Harrisburg, in which he recited that: A tumult, riot and mob existed on the Pennsylvania Railroad at East Liberty, and in the Twelfth Ward of Pittsburgh. Large assemblages of people were upon the Railroad, and the movement of freight trains either east or west was prevented by intimidation and violence, molesting and obstructing the engineers and other employes of the Railroad Company in the discharge of their duties. As the Sheriff of the county, he had endeavored to suppress the riot and had not adequate means at his command to do so, and he therefore requested the Governor to exercise his authority in calling out the military to suppress the same.

At 3:17 o'clock in the morning, Friday, Sheriff Fife received a despatch from Adjutant General James W. Latta, announcing that he had ordered Major General Pearson to place a regiment of militia at his disposition to enforce compliance with the law.

About half past three o'clock A. M., General Pearson was found, and having received the proper authorization from the Governor, he ordered "the Eighteenth Regiment to assemble at the Central Armory fully uniformed, armed and equipped for duty, at 6:30 A. M. Colonel P. N. Guthrie was ordered to report for duty with his command at the Union Depot, at seven o'clock sharp."

At this time Governor Hartranft was absent from the State, he having gone to the West. The Lieutenant Governor, Hon. John Latta, acting Governor, declined to issue any proclamation on the ground that he had no constitutional right to do so. Notwithstanding this fact, some persons, presuming very largely on the ignorance of the strikers, hoping for good effects, prepared and had posted up everywhere along the road and about the yards, a bogus proclamation purporting to have been issued by Governor Hartranft. The strikers knowing that the Governor was not in the State, and that Secretary of State Quay, whose name appeared signed to the proclamation, was at Beaver, forty miles west of Pittsburgh, and knowing that the militia had no right to fire upon them, hailed the appearance of the bogus poster at seven o'clock Friday morning, with jeers and derision. Of course no respect to the injunction of the pseudo document was paid.

At noon, Friday, July 20th, the strikers, and other workingmen held a meeting in the yards of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which was attended by a vast throng of people. One of the railroad men mounted a box and read a despatch from Hornellsville, N. Y., signed by B. J. Donahue, announcing that the firemen and brakemen on the New York and Erie Road had quit work that morning. This piece of intelligence was received with the wildest demonstrations of satisfaction by the strikers and their friends.

Soon after, the Fourteenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Regiments of State Guards arrived and were stationed along the tracks. The strikers were nothing daunted by these military preparations. The crowd had grown into

an immense multitude. On the engine which had drawn a train load of soldiers were General Pearson, Sheriff Fife and Superintendent Pitcairn of the Pennsylvania Company. The Sheriff immediately mounted the tender and read the Governor's Proclamation, amid the hoots and cries of the spectators. He counselled peace, and assured them the law would be enforced, cost what it might. The crowd jeered at him, and when he descended General Pearson got on the tender, and addressing the crowd said there appeared to be a disposition to treat the matter lightly. He warned them that the affair was a very serious one. No man had more sympathy for them than he had; but he was under orders from the Governor, and those who knew him, knew that he would obey. He assured them that it was useless to attempt to further stop the working of the road; that the trains must go through. While he was speaking he was interrupted with cries of "Who are you?" "Give us bread," and similar cries. When speaking of the trains, one man yelled out, "What trains? Passenger trains? Certainly we allow them to go through."

"Yes," said General Pearson, "and all other trains; even if they have nothing but pig metal in them, must be permitted to go."

Another striker asked to be heard, and said he did not see why the military were there. The men had done no act of violence, he said, nor did they intend to do any. "Will you allow trains to go through?" asked the General. "No," shouted half a dozen voices. One man said: "They might get through to Torrens; but God help the men on the trains after passing that point."

The determined tone of the strikers in presence of the

military forces, was well calculated to produce feelings of uneasiness in the minds of the railroad officials, and the civil and military authorities manifested much hesitation as to the course which should be pursued.

About one hundred and fifty men of the Eighteenth Regiment, under Colonel Guthrie, were sent to the East Liberty Stock Yards. Soldiers were also quartered at Torrens Station. At 2:30 o'clock that afternoon a multitude of strikers from the outer depot had collected at that point. They mingled freely with the soldiers, and gave them to understand that they would make short work with them if they attempted to interfere with their purposes respecting the running of trains. They energetically denounced General Pearson, and the military, and declared that if Pearson attempted to execute his threat to carry a train through, he would be shot. The disposition of the strikers at the Stock Yards was dangerous to the peace and safety of the community. They boldly declared their purpose to resist the military, in order to accomplish their object by keeping the road blockaded.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, a freight train arrived at Torrens, from the East, bearing some five hundred rough men, who immediately joined the multitude of strikers which had assembled at that place. A large number of tramps and vagrants had also collected at that point, and by six o'clock in the evening the strikers and their friends numbered not less than three thousand men, divided off into squads, acting with no little show of military discipline, under the direction of leaders, who evidently possessed good organizing capacity.

The scenes presented along the road from Pittsburgh to Torrens Station the night of the 20th, was sufficiently

suggestive. There were some twenty miles of freight cars occupying the sidings, and at all the wayside stations were guards of soldiers, and great crowds of strikers and their friends. Camp fires gleamed in vacant lots, and the glare of torches, and twinkling lamps revealed the forms of men, moving about in the dusky darkness, some with murderous guns and glittering bayonets, and others—hard faced, and tawny men, without other weapons than their own strong arms. There was a murmur of voices, low and ominous, where groups of men had gathered to discuss the situation. Then occasionally the sentinels challenge rang out sharp and clear, above the multitudinous noises that tortured the night breeze. It was a strange spectacle in a land of liberty and in a time of peace!

By nine o'clock in the evening a crowd of at least ten thousand persons, the greater number of whom were sympathizers with the strikers, had assembled at the head of Twenty-eight street. The officers of the Railroad Company had expressed an intention to send out a freight train that night. The crowds threatened, and as it was evident that a collision could not be avoided, and as there was more than room for doubt that the military force would not be able to repel an assault, the design was given up.

All the chief officers of the Pennsylvania Company, except Colonel Thomas A. Scott, were now in Pittsburgh. Messrs. Cassatt, Gardiner and Pitcairn, had a conference with the leaders of the strike during the evening. It was protracted for some hours. The strikers refused to treat on any other basis than that presented in the ultimatum agreed upon by the meeting of strikers held on

the 19th. The representatives of the road positively refused to make any concessions. They demanded from the employes an unconditional surrender. The result of the consultation was what might have been expected under these circumstances. Nothing was accomplished. The strikers returned to those whom they represented, and reported that all hope of an adjustment must be abandoned. It was then determined to fight it out on the line they had chosen. The railroad managers were equally determined. Thus the way was prepared for the startling events which soon occurred. Colonel Thomas A. Scott did not make an appearance at Pittsburgh during the continuance of the disorders. But he was in constant communication with his representatives in that place, and dictated the policy which was pursued by the Railroad Company. There are those who believe that Colonel Scott is responsible for the scenes which followed. He could have arrested the progress of the strike; he could have ended the conflict; he could have calmed the rising storm of heated passion; he could have swept away the volumes of human misery that were rolling on; he could have extinguished the little flame that threatened to become a conflagration; aye, with a word he could have stayed the stroke of the Angel of Death, which waited to descend upon scores of wretched beings, driven by hunger to desperation. But he would not. The words that would have produced peace then, were not spoken. The torch was prepared to fire the magazine; and Pittsburgh was doomed to undergo an ordeal of fire—to endure a reign of terror, and witness scenes of devastation and death.

Every moment the situation was becoming more critical. The strikers and their friends now outnumbered the soldiers three to one.

As yet there had been no collisions. The strikers mingled with the soldiers, and it already appeared that the soldiers were not altogether without sympathy for the strikers. The Adjutant General having been notified of the serious nature of the complications at Pittsburgh, and having received a pressing call for further assistance, ordered out the Sixth Division of the National Guards of Pennsylvania, and at once departed from Harrisburgh for the scene of action. At Tyrone he was met by a telegram calling for Gatling guns. An order was at once telegraphed to Harrisburg for the shipment of two of these death dealing implements of war, together with thirty-four hundred rounds of ammunition. One of these guns was despatched from the Capital at eleven o'clock, and the other was forwarded the next morning.

The First Division of the National Guards of Pennsylvania, under command of Major General R. M. Brinton, was ordered from Philadelphia. This Division was composed of the First, Second, Third and Sixth Regiments, the Keystone Battery, City Troop, Black Hussars, Washington Greys, Weccacoe Legion, State Fencibles, and Grey Invincibles. These commands numbered about two thousand men; only about fourteen hundred however, could be assembled in time to take the train for Pittsburgh. General Brinton had established his headquarters at the League House, where he received reports and directed operations. This officer was ordered to report to General Pearson on his arrival at Pittsburgh.

Meanwhile the excitement in the city was increasing with every passing hour. Nothing like the intensity of feeling pervading the public mind had ever before been observed in that place—perhaps at no place and no

time before in this country. The citizens of Pittsburgh, as a mass, were decided in expressions of sympathy with the strikers. The militia were everywhere execrated, and treated with derision by the people. Great masses of people thronged the streets; men and women, old and young, persons belonging to all classes, and occupying every station in life came out, and rushed back and forth with a nervous, objectless haste. The whole population seemed to be afflicted with a sort of inebriation of excitement.

It was evident that the spirit of the Internationalists was reveling with fiendish delight amid the scenes of tumult everywhere observable on the streets. Women taunted soldiers and encouraged the *Canaille* to deeds of violence. It was a repetition of the scenes witnessed in Paris in those terrible days when the Commune rose in 1871, only on a less scale. It was a new experience to meet with women in mobs. But they were abroad now, and exerted an influence for evil that can scarcely be estimated. All night the uproar was continued. Pittsburgh was fast becoming drunk with passion—dark, unrelenting devilish passion, that would hesitate to commit no crime, shrink not from any deed of horror. It was a night such as few had ever before lived through on this continent, not on account of what actually came to pass, but because of that which it foreboded as a culmination for such scenes.

CHAPTER X.

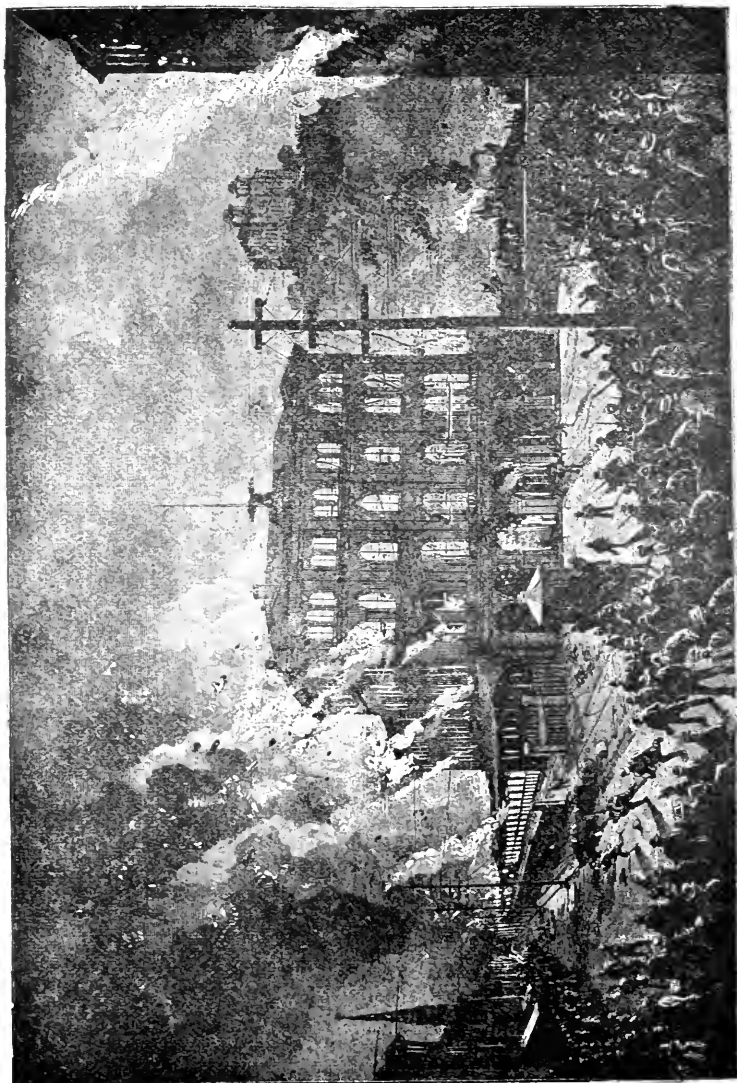
A NIGHT OF TERROR AT PITTSBURGH.

The Culmination—A Sea of Fire—Death-Dealing Volleys—The Spirit of Desolation Lighting the Torch of Destruction—A Horrible Spectacle—A Reign of Terror—The Commune Gains a Brief but Fearful Ascendancy—The City Sacked by a Howling Mob—An end of all Lawful Authority—The Ghouls of Pillage Abroad in the Glare of the Devouring Fires—Millions of Property Resolved into Smoke and Ashes.

The condition of affairs at Pittsburgh had become alarming in the extreme. The concentration of military forces instead of having a tendency to cool down the ardor of the strikers, and overawe the vicious elements of society, seemed to have a contrary effect. The malcontents had increased in numbers with astonishing rapidity. The bands of strikers which numbered no more than a few hundreds at most, the morning of the preceding day, had been re-enforced by a mob of idlers and tramps numbering many thousands. The law abiding citizens were in a state of alarm and trepidation. To employ the language of Statius: "They stood in silent astonishment and waited for the fall of the yet doubtful thunderbolt."* But the surging masses of the strikers and the mob were neither silent nor astonished. They were intoxicated by an excitement which prevented reflection. They neither knew when nor cared how the impending

*Modified in translation. In the original, *Mirantur taciti et dubio pro fulmine pendent.*





THE GREAT STRIKE: DESTRUCTION OF THE UNION DEPOT AND HOTEL AT PITTSBURGH.—DATA BY FRANK H. SCOTT.

bolt would fall. They were ready to rejoice at the havoc it would make. Vast multitudes of men of the lowest character, actuated by the most brutal passions, were assembled for the sole purpose of inaugurating a reign of terror among the people, and to light the torch of destruction in the city.

Clamoring for a redress of grievances which they were unable to formulate, or distinctly specify, the mighty throngs of uneasy spirits who had been called into action in consequence of the railroad strikes, were preparing to commit the most heinous crimes against the peace and order of society. These men had no grievances to be redressed. They were the vagrants of our modern social organization. They prated of the downfall of liberty, when in truth they did not have a comprehension of the meaning of the word. Liberty is a proud spirit; it regards government as the true instrument of human happiness, and resists it when it becomes manifestly prejudicial to happiness. But liberty only flashes out against the government which murders innocent men, and dishonors women. Liberty is force of character, roused by the sense of wrong. But it is consistent with a sense of duty and a willingness to bear just restraint, and uncombined with these it achieves nothing lasting. Then it becomes the ally of turbulence, the enemy of discipline. The elements which had combined against law and order in Pittsburgh were not in rebellion against a government, but against the whole social organization. They had known no oppression; on the contrary they enjoyed a liberty which amounted to license—a license that enabled them to secure a living without labor.

It must be borne in mind that the characters here

alluded to, were not the strikers but the vicious idlers, who had taken advantage of the strikes to commit lawless deeds. The lawlessness among the strikers was manifested in another way. They seized the property of their employers, they violated the fundamental law of the right to private property; they said in effect, "we are not receiving sufficient pay to sustain life, we will therefore quit our employment, and will not permit our employers to secure the services of other men to take our places." This was violation of law, and should be unqualifiedly condemned. But it was not a warfare of destruction. The railroad strikers, as a mass, never had any purpose of destroying anything. They could have destroyed untold millions of dollars worth of property, all along the lines of the railroads which they had seized, and possession of which they retained for many days. Why could they not have burned every car on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? Why could not the strikers of East St. Louis, during the five days they held possession, and even guarded property worth millions of dollars, have destroyed it? There was nothing to prevent them only their own determination not to destroy. On the contrary, the whole history of the movement shows conclusively that the railroad men on a strike had no disposition to destroy. They were not incendiaries, not thieves, not murderers. They were guardians of the property of their employers. If they had been actuated by a purpose to lay waste and burn, there was no adequate force to prevent their executing that purpose. As a mass, the railroad employes are far more honest than the majority of railroad managers. They indeed violated law, and in a manner that subjected them to

punishment. But they were less guilty than the speculators and autocrats, who have plundered the general public to the extent of millions of dollars. There were bad men among the strikers—men who would not hesitate at almost any crime. There are bad men in all classes of society. Dangerously bad men are found among those who are leaders in the commercial and financial world. But because some railroad laborers are bad men, shall we therefore stigmatize all railroad laborers as bad? That would be injustice. There were some railroad men, no doubt, among the mob who resisted the military and applied the torch to millions of dollars worth of property. Indeed, we have positive evidence that a few railroad men were active in promoting the riot. But they were no more representative of the whole body of railroad men than was William M. Tweed of the whole body of office-holders in the country.

This statement appears necessary because of the efforts which have been made to fix upon the railroad men the direct responsibility for the deeds of violence committed by the Pittsburgh mob of roughs. There were deeds of cruelty perpetrated by soldiers of the Federal and Confederate armies during the late war. But it would be manifestly unjust to charge that all soldiers of the Federal and Confederate armies were inhuman and cruel, and still more repugnant to our sense of fairness, to hold the whole people of the North and the South responsible for the deeds of *some* of the soldiers who were engaged in the war between the two sections. The violence of the mob, the destruction of property, and the general subversion of the social order in Pittsburgh,

were not necessarily even consequences of the strike, but were incidents in a general disturbance. Those railroad men who promoted the violence, doubtless acted upon their own responsibility, and that ought to exonerate those who not only did not actively participate in the extraordinary scenes of that night of terror in Pittsburgh, but who, on the contrary, expressed their disapproval. It is but justice to say this in relation to the crime committed at Pittsburgh, there is no evidence that the railroad strikers, as a mass, were the instigators, or even the abettors of the deeds of that dreadful occasion.

The storm which had been gathering for two days was ready to burst upon the city in all its fury by the morning of the 21st of July. At an early hour of that day, it was apparent that a collision could not be avoided, and might happen at any time. During the morning the infantry forces of Alleghany county, which had been called out for duty before, was re-enforced by two batteries and two troops of cavalry which had been called out. To these forces were added the First Division of the National Guards of Pennsylvania, which had been called out at Philadelphia the preceding night. This force under command of Major General Brinton, consisting of infantry, artillery and cavalry, began to arrive on the scene in the morning, and before evening the whole number had come up and had been assigned to posts of duty. These preparations on the part of the Government of the State did not seem to deter the strikers and the mob, on the contrary, these expressed the greatest contempt for the military array, and freely mingled with the soldiers, and boasted of their ability to speedily dispose of the whole body of militia which had been concentrated to put them down.

Early in the morning a line of pickets was drawn from Twenty-eighth street to the Union Depot, and civilians of all classes were prohibited from approaching the tracks of the railroad. Meanwhile the civil authorities were taking measures to proceed legally against the ringleaders of the riotous crowds. Judge Ewing of the Court of Common Pleas issued warrants for the arrest of a number of the most prominent of the men among the disturbers. The Sheriff undertook to organize a *posse comitatus* of one hundred men to serve the warrants. In this he was unsuccessful. About fifteen persons, mostly the regular deputies in the Sheriff's office, responded to the call. Two hundred and fifty militia-men were ordered to support the civil officers in the discharge of their duty.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the Sheriff heading his *posse*, and followed by the military command, started out to execute the writs which he held. They were never served on the persons, for whom they were issued, by Sheriff Fife. The web of fate was already being wound around him. He returned no more from that mission on which he had gone in the performance of his official duty.

There are a great many statements in regard to the commencement of the rioting. It is not easy to arrive at the truth in this particular case. Where all was confusion, it was impossible to preserve a correct record of events in the order of occurrence. The account here given is believed to be in strict accordance with the facts, so far as they can be ascertained at this time. The conflict had been expected to take place all the morning. At half-past three o'clock in the afternoon Sheriff Fife,

accompanied by a *posse* of fifteen men, and supported by General Brinton in command of a considerable body of the Philadelphia militia, started for the general rendezvous of the strikers and the mob at the Twenty-eighth street crossing. The plan of procedure agreed upon between the civil and military authorities, was for Sheriff Fife to proceed to the rendezvous, attempt the arrest of the persons named in his warrants, and if, as was anticipated, resistance was offered, to call upon the militia for assistance. The brigade of General Brinton marched out along the tracks, the Sheriff with his men preceding them. The Sheriff arriving at the depot, proceeded to order the crowd to disperse. The mob met this command with a storm of yells, shouts, threats and jeers. He then announced his purpose to arrest the persons whom he named. Meanwhile the military under General Brinton proceeded to clear the tracks. At that point a large number of strikers and an immense crowd of spectators had assembled. Much confusion ensued. The crowd of strikers and the malcontents taunted the militia, and denounced them as "a pack of sneaks and cowards." However, they kept at a respectful distance from the points of the bayonets which the soldiers presented. By this time it was apparent that the immense throng of rioters could not be dispersed by reading the riot act, or at the behest of the Sheriff. General Brinton, Mr. Pitcairn and Sheriff Fife at this stage held a short consultation. The riot act had been read and disregarded, and it was now determined to proceed to more decisive measures. The Sheriff had warrants for the arrest of fifteen persons among the strikers. General Brinton and Mr. Pitcairn, assistant Superintendent of the

Pennsylvania Railroad, advised the Sheriff to proceed to make the arrest. At this time the excitement was fearful. The strikers were furious. The vast mob of the evil-disposed elements of society were dangerously determined, nor were the immense assemblage of substantial citizen-spectators wholly indifferent as to the result. Their sympathies were with the strikers. The Sheriff went forward to execute his mission. One man, whose name was particularly singled out, was arrested. At that moment another man who was wanted rushed forward, waved his hat aloft, and shouted "At them boys! at them! give them hell!" As to what followed immediately upon this movement accounts differ. But it appears before any actual resistance by act was made, General Brinton ordered his men to fire. This has been denied; but the weight of evidence favors the correctness of the statement first made. Another writer who claims to have been present asserts that the mob made a determined assault upon the soldiers, by hurling a shower of missiles at them under the leadership of George Martin, the man for whose arrest the Sheriff had a warrant. At any rate a terrible fire was opened by the militia on the vast crowd of strikers, the mob acting in concert with them, and the citizens who had collected on the hill overlooking the track. The fire of the soldiers was very destructive, sixteen persons were instantly killed. The intelligence of this collision spread with amazing rapidity throughout the city. The whole population was instantly emptied into the streets.

It appears that there was no sufficient cause for the fusilades of the soldiers in this instance. If we take this account given of it by one who evidently wrote with a

strong bias in favor of the military, still there does not appear to have been sufficient provocation to justify the destructive fire into a crowd of people in which were many women and children. The writer alluded to, says:

“When the line reached the depot they immediately cleared the crossing amid the jeers and hootings of the strikers, who widely scattered through the great crowd, there being not less than five thousand people present. Consultation was then held by the officers in command with Superintendent Pitcairn and the Sheriff, after which the latter proceeded to read the riot act. Having warrants for the arrest of fifteen of the ringleaders, he proceeded to make an arrest. The particular man for whom the warrant was issued approached, waved his hat, and calling to the crowd and strikers said, ‘Give them hell.’ Immediately a shower of boulders was hurled into the troops, and one revolver-shot fired into the ranks. General Brinton then ordered his men to fire, and the word went along the line from platoon to platoon until the left of the line was reached, and then the firing was repeated several times. The crowd fled in dismay, and hid wherever it was possible. Immediately after the firing, crowds of excited people sprang up, as if by magic, from all directions, and the imprecations against the Philadelphia troops, who were blamed by the strikers and the mob as being responsible for the trouble, were very threatening. It was a noteworthy fact that hundreds of people in no way connected with the railroad, expressed their determination to join with the strikers in driving them from the city. These remarks were interspersed with loud and bitter threats that the Company’s shops, depots and buildings should at-night be laid in ashes.”

Who "the excited people" were who "sprang up as if by magic, from all directions," this writer does not inform us. It could not have been the terror stricken crowd which had "fled in dismay and hid wherever it was possible," but a moment before. Nor is it plain why "hundreds of people in no way connected with the railroad, expressed their determination to join with the strikers" in driving the Philadelphia troops from the city.

The firing was repeated. Platoon after platoon poured showers of bullets into the terror-stricken company assembled on the bank overlooking the railroad tracks. By this time the excitement had become dreadful, and extended all over the city. There was a general condemnation of the action of the militia among the citizens. The general impression was that they had acted precipitately, and had needlessly sacrificed the lives of a number of innocent persons. The billows of passion were rolling with fearful sweep over the city. The night was closing in. The scenes presented on the streets were intensely exciting. The experience of the fusilades had produced only a still more dangerous condition of feeling. The whole population seemed to have joined the rioters. Within less than half an hour after the firing, the crowd about the Twenty-eighth street crossing had swelled to fearful proportions. The position of the Philadelphia troops was critical. The expressions of bitterness against them was not confined to the strikers alone. The soldiers were too few to protect the city. At eight o'clock the multitude at Twenty-eighth street numbered not less than twenty thousand. The threats were ominous. No pen can describe the scenes witnessed that evening on the streets of Pittsburgh.

The demoniac yells, the loud profanity, the terrible threats, were united to swell the awful volume of angry noises. It seemed as if the infernal regions had been emptied of its myriads of fiends, who were released for the purpose of enacting on earth the orgies of hell. There was little or no drunkenness from the use of liquors, but there was an inebriation of terrible passion in its manifestations. Men, women, old and young, high and low, both sexes, all conditions, all orders, all classes in life, came forth and joined the angry, surging tide of humanity that incessantly ebbed and flowed through the streets of the fated city. Pittsburgh had entered upon its night of woe. The Commune had risen in its dangerous might, and threatened a deluge of blood. In the very center from which a large part of the world's supply of oil is drawn, the *petroleuses* were apparently ready to fill their cans and go forth as messengers of destruction.

Concerning the conflict at Twenty-eighth street which had taken place between five and six o'clock, and which was one of the factors in, if not the immediate cause of the terrible excitement which seized upon all classes of the people, it is but proper to present the statements of both sides in regard to the commencement. Lieutenant James P. Elliot, Acting Adjutant General on the staff of General Matthews, commanding the First Brigade of the First Division, who was a participant and eye witness of what occurred, gives the following account of the first encounter between the soldiery and the mob:

"The division under command of General Brinton, landed in Pittsburgh at 1:45 P. M. on Saturday, six hundred strong, the men each furnished with thirty rounds

of ammunition, accompanied by two Gatling guns obtained in Harrisburg, in charge of the Keystone Battery. When the troops issued from the cars in the Union Depot, they were met by a large number of people, who appeared to be in perfect good humor, and even greeted them with cheers. That the bloodshed that afterwards followed would take place was, therefore, the last thing that entered the minds of the soldiers. After luncheon of sandwiches and coffee had been served, the troops remained in the depot until about half-past three o'clock, when the First Brigade composed of the First Regiment, Companies B and C of the Third, the Washington Greys and Weccacoe Legion, marched down the track as far as Twenty-eighth street, accompanied by Vice President Cassatt, Mr. Pitcairn, Superintendent of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Sheriff Fife and forty-five deputies, armed with writs for the arrest of prominent strikers. At Twenty-eighth street the head of the column composed of the Weccacoe Legion and the Washington Greys, found themselves confronted by a mob about two thousand strong, while on the hill some four hundred feet high that faced the right of the column, there were ranged an immense multitude at least ten thousand strong. On the brow of the hill were stationed detachments of the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Pennsylvania Regiments (Pittsburgh troops), and immediately above the railroad two pieces of Hutchinson's Pittsburgh Battery. Sheriff Fife after in vain endeavoring to serve his writs, read the riot act, at which the mob jeered and laughed, whereupon the Sheriff and his deputies and Mr. Cassatt and Mr. Pitcairn retired in profound disgust. The troops were then deployed for the purpose of

sweeping the mob from the tracks, the Greys and Weccacoe Legion facing the two thousand or more strikers that occupied the tracks. At the back of the command was a train of coal cars, behind which there were about two hundred of the strikers. In order to force the principal mob back, the soldiers of the Greys and the Legion crossed their muskets, their intention being to avoid doing the strikers injury. The crowd laughed and jeered and finally attempted to wrest the muskets from the soldiers, who then came to a charge bayonet, and in the melee that necessarily followed, one of the strikers was wounded by a bayonet thrust. The cry arose from the mob: 'Stick to it; give it to them; don't fall back!' and the men behind the coal cars began discharging pistols at the soldiers from under and between the cars, while the crowd in front began heaving rocks, with which a number of the soldiers were hit, and Sergeant Bernard of the Weccacoe Legion seriously wounded. The firing by the troops then began. There was no order given for it. It began with the discharge of a single musket, and was immediately followed by an almost simultaneous discharge from front and rear, right and left of the brigade. The firing lasted about ten minutes, men continually dropping in the fast-retreating mob. It was at this time that the Pittsburgh troops threw down their arms and fraternized with the strikers, Hutchinson's Battery and a cavalry company alone excepted. Within five minutes after the firing ceased the mob was back again, but refrained for a while from further assaults upon the Philadelphians, and therefore there was no firing upon them. 'It was the most persistent mob,' said Lieutenant Elliot, 'I ever saw.' The brigade remained on the

field of battle until six o'clock, when they were ordered by General Pearson back to the roundhouse, adjoining which is a building in which was stationed the second brigade."

The occurrence of an event such as that described above, could not fail to arouse the people. The killing of several members of the Pittsburgh militia by the Philadelphia troops, had the effect of intensifying the feelings of animosity against them. The crowds gathering in that part of the city were every moment becoming more demonstrative. The threats against the troops were calculated to cause even veterans to feel uneasy as to the result. The mob now outnumbered the soldiers at least seven to one. The militia remained on the field of conflict for a time. Then General Pearson fearing they would be surrounded and massacred by a merciless mob, ordered a retreat to the roundhouse of the Pennsylvania Company, and there prepared to resist the terrible mob of infuriated workingmen and vagrants.

The dangerous propensities of the mob continued to develop. Before nine o'clock had arrived, the law-abiding citizens of Pittsburgh were fully sensible of the impending peril. The strikers were resolute and determined. But the chief danger was in the presence of an immense number of vagrants and tramps, idle miners, and roughs of every character. Strange to say, there was a large element in the population of Pittsburgh, who had the reputation of being respectable people—tradesmen, householders, well-to-do mechanics and such, who were witnesses of the progress of the turbulent mob, who not only did not protest against their proceedings, but openly mingled with them, and encouraged them to commit further deeds of violence.

About 9:15 o'clock, a large band of the rioters, started on a mission of plunder. There were in the city a number of gun stores, and a number of hardware dealers who kept guns and ammunition as a part of their stock in trade. The location of these places of business, were well known to the leaders of the predatory mob. They proceeded first to a large gun and ammunition store, forced open the doors, and took from the premises some four hundred guns of all classes, many of them being Winchester and Henry rifles, such as obtained ready sale in the region adjacent to the Upper Missouri river. A large amount of fixed ammunition was also taken. Some five hundred repeating pistols with cartridges, were also taken away by the rioters. The crowd then went successively to every gun and hardware store in the city. More than two thousand guns of improved pattern were taken, while the number of pistols, swords and knives, thus taken could not be estimated. More than a hundred thousand dollars worth of arms and ammunition, had thus come into the hands of the mob.

Meanwhile the troops had sought shelter and protection in the roundhouse, where they were advised of the preparations of the mob to take the offensive, and awaited the expected assault with many misgivings as to their ability to resist the overwhelming force of the rioters.

By eleven o'clock, the work of plundering the gun-stores had been completed, and a mob numbering not less than four thousand men, and organized into something like military order, formed in line and marched in two columns, one proceeding up Pennsylvania avenue, and the other taking Liberty street to Twenty-eighth street. Here at least thirty thousand people had assembled.

The scene presented at this time was truly awe-inspiring. The vast, surging masses of people, including men, women and children, the fearful tumult of a great multitude excited by angry passions, the shouts, taunts, jeers, execrations, and passionate appeals to an already enraged populace, the shrill screams of women, the cries of children, and the curses of men, altogether, were calculated to produce a sensation of alarm and terror, even in the breasts of the bravest.

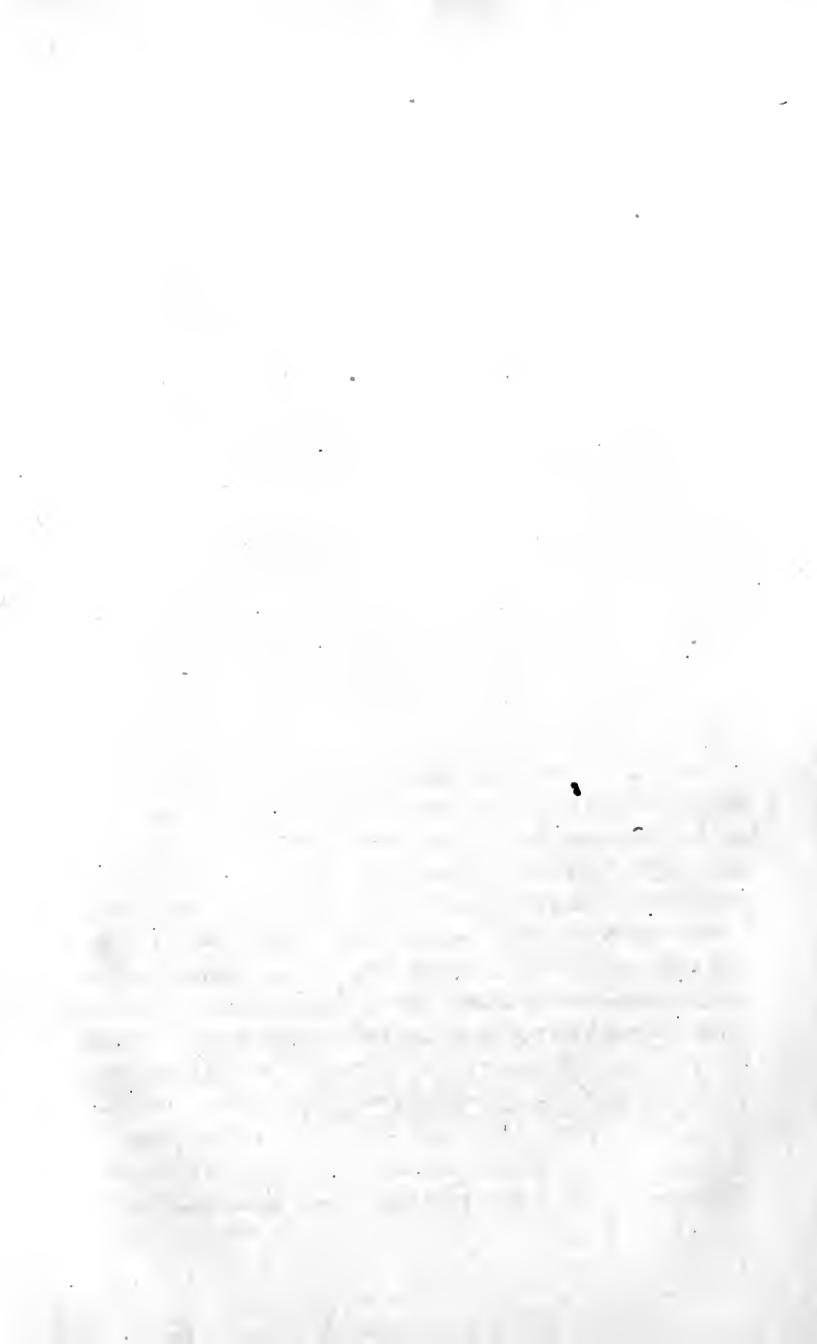
On arriving at the scene of the late fusilades, at Twenty-eighth street, the armed mob at once proceeded to attack the troops quartered in the roundhouse. Volley after volley was poured into the windows, but elicited no response from the soldiers within. The mob threatened to massacre the whole division of the troops which had taken refuge there. The numbers and determination of the armed mob indicated that this expressed purpose was not merely an idle threat.

It was an hour fraught with momentous events. A city containing a population of more one hundred and twenty thousand souls was without law, in the complete possession of a vast mob, armed, vindictive, cruel, destructive. Immense amounts of valuable property, arrested in transit, filled long lines of freight cars on the railway tracks. Splendid stores and luxuriously appointed mansions, were all placed at the mercy of a mob which had set all law at defiance, a furious throng that acknowledged responsibility to no authority. Municipal government was at an end, police authority despised, even the Government of a great State was set at naught. Three thousand armed militia, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, the police force of some hundreds, the constab-

ulary, all were powerless in presence of the armed and enraged multitude of many thousands. General Pearson and General Brinton, would most certainly have been murdered if they could have been found. Murders of straggling soldiers were being committed by the mob, whenever an opportunity occurred. Sheriff Fife went out to the outer depot to endeavor to stay the tide of lawlessness in that direction. But he was fated to return no more alive. His dead body was brought in at a late hour from the place where he had been shot.

The situation of the besieged militia was dangerous in the extreme. The now thoroughly infuriated mob was making loud threats of an intention to massacre the whole body of men. A committee of citizens proceeded to the roundhouse where they were shut up, and begged them to depart from a city they could not protect, while their presence only served to further exasperate an angry populace.

Threats of burning and destroying had been freely indulged in by the bad elements which composed the greater part of the howling mob that now frantically assailed the military. These threats were the earnest of a purpose. Midnight came. But there was no peace in the troubled city. Then one o'clock, and then the fire-bells rang. The alarm came from Twenty-eighth street. Everybody knew the dreadful significance of that. Pittsburgh soon presented a scene terribly grand.





RIOTERS DISTRIBUTING STOLEN WHISKEY.

CHAPTER XI.

GIVEN OVER TO PILLAGE.

The Great Conflagration—Demoniac Satisfaction—The Reign of the Commune—Besieged Soldiers—Abandoned Artillery—The Miserable Retreat—Pittsburgh Given Over to the Mob—Scenes of Pillage—Citizens at last Aroused—A Vigilance Committee—Restoring Order.

It was half past one o'clock Sunday morning, July 22d, when the fire-bells of the city of Pittsburgh rang out the awful announcement that the devouring flames had commenced to rage in the vicinity of the railroad depot and yards. The signal was fully comprehended. The mob was proceeding to execute the threats which had been made. All through that anxious night the inhabitants had awaited tidings of the progress of events. It was a time when sleep was banished by alarms and cares. The significance of the number tolled by the bells was well understood. Soon the streets were thronged by a mighty tide of people, rushing in excited haste toward Twenty-eighth street.

The mob had fired the arrested trains and some of the buildings that belonged to the Railroad Company. The fire engines were speedily in the vicinity of the scene of disaster; but they were not permitted to make any effort to save the millions of dollars worth of property, by arresting the progress of the flames. The fiendish spirit of the Commune had taken possession of an incredibly

large proportion of the people of Pittsburgh. This was exhibited by the fearful yell of satisfaction which rose from every part of the city as the alarm bells pealed forth their dreadful warning. Never before in the history of the United States had scenes such as those now witnessed arrested the attention of the people. A species of madness seemed to have seized the citizens.

Men seized torches, and rushed wildly about, applying them to the property of the Railroad Company. In this way train after train was given up to the devouring flames. The infuriated rioters, having been baffled thus far in their efforts against the militia besieged in the roundhouse, now expressed a determination to burn them out. The long lines of freight cars which occupied the sidings for miles, freighted with valuable products, and manufactured goods, it seemed were destined to be given over to destruction. All night the great army of rioters had been engaged in a fruitless effort to storm the roundhouse, in which the soldiers of the State were besieged. The two pieces of artillery of Hutchinson's Battery, which the rioters captured early in the evening, had been loaded with iron bolts and pins, and directed against the quarters of the militia. A breach had been made in the walls, the mob rushed forward, but were met by a murderous fire of musketry which caused the ill-organized mass to recoil in wild dismay. But now they had resolved upon a more terrible mode of attack. There were on the tracks whole trains of cars freighted with petroleum, and others loaded with coke and coal. These the rioters determined to use for the purpose of firing the roundhouse.

Having taken possession of a car freighted with coke,

on the track of the Alleghany Valley Railroad, they run it onto the track of the Pennsylvania Railway Company. Taking some barrels of oil from a car on that road, they broke in the head and poured the contents over the coke in the car which they had captured on the other road. This they set on fire; it was speedily a blazing furnace. A company of the rioters now pushed it along the track until it was against the roundhouse. That structure was quickly ignited, and the flames spread slowly through the building. The situation of the militia garrison, which had sustained a siege through the weary hours of the night, was rendered extremely critical. They had now to abandon their position of shelter, and prepare to cut their way through the mass of madmen clamoring for their blood. They had yet some pieces of artillery in the roundhouse, and the two Gatling guns which they had brought from Harrisburg. The heavy brass pieces were spiked, and the little army of perhaps eight hundred militia men hurriedly withdrawing their outposts, and concentrating all their force, was ready to march out on their perilous attempt to save themselves from annihilation by a furious mob of many thousands.

Circumstances favored them. For some unexplained reason that part of the mob which had been besieging the soldiers in the roundhouse, retired from that vicinity. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the garrison marched out and had proceeded some distance in their retreat before their departure was discovered. It was now about 6:30 o'clock in the morning. The dismal night was past. The Philadelphians had already begun to congratulate themselves at their fortunate escape. But their troubles were not ended. The mob soon dis-

covered their retreat. Then commenced a most remarkable pursuit. The rioters swarmed after the retreating militia in huge masses. They went to the front, they hung on the flanks, and followed in the rear of the fleeing militia-men, attacking them from every convenient covert, and openly at every street crossing. It was on this retreat, or rather rout, that the Philadelphians suffered most severely. The force which left the roundhouse consisted of two brigades with two Gatling guns. They marched out and along Penn avenue. As they marched they were fired upon from corners and alley-ways and windows and house-tops. At Fourteenth street an unusually vigorous attack was made from a house. The Gatling guns were charged and fired with destructive effect. The retreating column continued its flight. They sought shelter in the United States arsenal, but Major Buffington, who commanded the small force of ten regular United States soldiers, declined to permit them to enter, as he feared the whole mob would attack when he had no means of defense. He however permitted them to leave their wounded to be attended to, and the militia continued their retreat across the Alleghany river to the village of Sharpsburg, where they halted and received food from the villagers. The Philadelphians marched on to Claremont, about twelve miles from the scene of disaster, arriving there about five o'clock in the afternoon, wearied and foot-sore. Thus ended their memorable campaign against the rioters of Pittsburgh.

Take any account given of the conduct of these citizen-soldiers, examine it closely, and it becomes apparent that they were badly treated by the Pittsburghers.

Even granting that they did fire before they were actually assaulted, it is evident they did not fire until after they were in some danger of being overpowered by the mere force of numbers. Called out by the State authority, in the performance of duty, they went to Pittsburgh to protect public and private property. Justice requires the statement that they were received by those they came to serve and protect, in a manner which showed that they were regarded more in the light of a horde of invading vandals than as friends and protectors.

Meanwhile the work of destruction, which had been going on since one o'clock in the morning, was still proceeding. The soldiers had been vanquished. They had been driven through Lawrenceville, out to Sharpsburg, six miles up the Alleghany and outside the city limits, as the rioters had sworn to drive them out, so they accomplished their oaths. Eight soldiers were killed and several others wounded during their retreat, the infuriated mob would allow no one to touch the falling bodies save some Catholic priests from a parish church in the neighborhood. Even the vengeance of a merciless mob might well be satiated by the events of that doleful Sunday morning in Pittsburgh. But there is no means of placating madmen. The rioters were such now. There was no protection for the lives or the property of the citizens, save such as the lawbreakers might accord. And strange to say, while engaged in driving out the ministers of the law, and laying waste the property of a great corporation, these men were foremost in efforts to preserve the property of individuals. A singular fact, but a truth nevertheless, that amid all the madness of that exciting time there was no disposition manifested to

do violence to the person or the property of individuals—except in appropriating weapons of offense and defense held by private citizens. They said they were determined to destroy the railroad property, but would do no injury to that belonging to private citizens. They kept their word, too, and when a lumber pile belonging to a private citizen caught fire, the rioters themselves turned in and helped to extinguish the flames and remove the lumber to a safe place. But there was no compunction exhibited so far as railroad property was concerned. The scene was the most terrible ever witnessed, except in the carnage of war.

The fire raged with unabated fury, and the flames kept creeping steadily toward the depot. At six o'clock the large machine shops by the tracks between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh streets caught fire, and burning cars were switched on to the Alleghany Valley Railroad and sent down that track in Liberty street, setting fire to many of the houses. Superintendent Pitcairn's and other offices of the Company, went next. All along the tracks were long lines of fire, consuming uncounted values in property. And still the conflagration extended; cars, houses, shops, all were destined to destruction.

The Union Line office at Twenty-second street, was wrapped in flames early in the morning. The walls fell with a tremendous crash about eight o'clock. Meanwhile the flames from the two roundhouses, machine shops and cars, became magnificent and appalling. One hundred and twenty-five locomotives were burned, valued at three millions of dollars, and the loss on the buildings increases that loss to four millions.

At this time the scene was appalling in magnificence.

A vast field of fire, crackled and roared with terrible distinctness. To travesty the language of Parton, men who witnessed it felt as if they stood upon the brink of hell, with the lid off.

There were fifty miles of hot rails, ten tracks side by side, with as many miles of ties turned into glowing coals, and tons on tons of iron car skeletons and wheels almost at a white heat. Hundreds of coal and coke cars at full blast; two hotels, an elevator, and many dwellings were burning furiously, and hundreds of smaller buildings along the line were all in a blaze, with the intermittent flashes of lurid light from the debris of the roundhouse and machine shops.

The tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad descend on a heavy grade for a distance of about three hundred yards into the Union Depot at Pittsburgh. The fire which had been raging east of the crest of this grade for many hours, moved slowly westward, and had approached within a few hundred yards of the Union Depot at noon on Sunday. At one o'clock a number of cars were in flames at the summit of the grade spoken of. The rioters now determined to most completely execute the purposes they had sworn to consummate. It had been hoped by citizens that the Union Depot and Keystone Hotel, and other valuable buildings around them would escape the general destruction. The Union Depot was a large four-story building. It had a frontage on Liberty street of about seventy feet, and extended back about two hundred feet. The lower floor was used as waiting rooms, ticket offices, and the Company's offices. The upper floor was occupied by the Keystone Hotel Company, and was one of the finest houses in the city. The whole

building was of modern style of architecture, and was considered one of the best arranged depots in the country, and was finished about seven years since. In the rear of the depot, and extending back five hundred feet, were lines of neat pine sheds, covering different tracks to protect passengers from the weather.

This splendid structure was doomed to become food for the flames along with the other valuable properties involved in the vortex of devastating fires. About half past one o'clock the rioters began to send flaming cars, thundering down the grade toward the depot. Most of them were turned into sidings so that they did not enter the depot, but soon the passenger cars standing near the despatcher's office at the outer end of the depot caught fire, and by the rioters brakes were loosed and the cars by their own momentum, thundered into the depot, communicating the flames to the pine sheds alluded to above. The whole place was quickly enveloped in a roaring, seething mass of fire.

The freight depot of the Pittsburgh and St. Louis Railroad was a large shed, built fronting on Grant street, and extending from Washington street to Seventh avenue. The Company's general offices were in a four story brick building fronting on Seventh avenue. These were totally destroyed, as was also the depot of the Adams Express Company, located on Grant street. The books and valuable papers had been removed from the Union Depot offices, as well as from the outer buildings, before the fire reached them. The Fire Department of the city continued on duty from the time of the first alarm, but were not allowed to throw any water on or make any effort to save the property of the Rail-

road Company. They consequently directed their efforts to saving the private property on the north side of Liberty street. In this they were mainly successful, though six dwellings and a sash factory located near the roundhouses were destroyed early in the day.

When the Union Depot was fired, followed by the Pan Handle offices, a panic seized the citizens, who had up to this time calmly folded their arms and looked on. It was feared that the conflagration would sweep the entire portion of the city south of the Pan Handle Railroad tracks, as many of the buildings were small frames as dry as tinder. At this juncture the Fire Department of Alleghany, which had been held in readiness in case of an outbreak on that side of the river, was summoned to assist in staying the progress of the flames.

At this time the excitement in every part of the city knew no bounds. In Liberty street, about twelve buildings were on fire, and in the neighborhood of Twenty-eighth street the flames were spreading toward the Alleghany rapidly. Hundreds of families in the section of the city between the railroad tracks and the Alleghany, three squares, and the Eleventh street Union Depot and Thirty-second street, spent the afternoon in moving their most valuable effects out of the city.

During the burning of the depot more than a dozen terrific explosions occurred, but whether from powder secreted there by the mob, or from the contents of the cars, or the ammunition of soldiers, is not known.

About four o'clock the Rush House, opposite the depot, on Liberty street, caught fire. The Fire Department worked all the afternoon to keep the fire from communicating to the Rush House block, as it was direct-

ly contiguous to the whole lower part of the city, while the depot was more isolated in position. Three thousand five hundred cars, all told, were destroyed, the value of which, with their contents, is yet unknown.

About noon, Sunday, a mass meeting of citizens was called, and a committee of five persons consisting of Bishop Tuigg, James D. Bennett, the Rev. Dr. Scoville, James P. Barr, and Dr. Donnelly, were appointed in accordance with the following resolutions :

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to confer with the State, County and City authorities, and also the employes, workingmen, and the Pennsylvania Railroad officials, to secure the protection of property from wanton destruction, and an arrangement of the difficulties between the Railroad Company and the striking employes.

Resolved, That in making this effort we pledge our faith to the workingmen that we have no purpose to facilitate the introduction of an armed force, but look solely to the protection of the rights and interests of all by amicable means.

This committee entered upon the duty imposed upon them, but without any marked success. Bishop Tuigg attempted to address the mob of rioters, but they paid little regard to his words, and demanded that he produce "Tom. Scott," which of course the Bishop could not comply with. Some of the other members of the committee fared even worse, having received from the rioters they attempted to conciliate peremptory orders to depart from them.

It was now the middle of the afternoon. The fire was still raging. A large elevator had taken fire about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, and was a terribly grand

spectacle, as a tower of flame, reaching toward the sky. And still the great multitude of spectators swayed to and fro, powerless to resist the forces which kindled the flames, and helpless to stay the progress of the destroying element. At this time, from the crest of the hill behind the depot, a continuous line of fire, flame, mouldering ruins and smoke extended along the tracks a distance of three miles. The mob was still triumphant, and would not allow a drop of water to be thrown upon the Company's property. The scenes were terrific. Many of the stores burned near the depot contained whiskey, from which barrels were taken, and from which gallons were distributed. The Atlantic and Pacific telegraph wires along the track were all cut. The Adams Express Company moved everything from their depot store-house to offices on Fifth street. They lost heavily during the morning. There was no wind in the early part of the day, but during the afternoon a southwest breeze started up, which freshened to a steady wind, and a pall of smoke overhung the lower part of the city east of Smithfield street, and reaching to the Monongahela. At five o'clock buildings on the side of the hill east, and on the opposite side of the tracks from the elevator caught fire, and by 5:50 o'clock the fire had extended a block and a half up Washington street, from which street the fire spread both ways on Webster street. This is a district on the hill covered with low tenement houses, which were closely packed with workingmen and their families.

The most striking feature, perhaps, of the day's developments, was the complete apathy with which the tens of thousands that thronged the city, looked upon the riots, the bloodshed, and the burning of millions of

property. They seemed to take the same kind of interest in these tremendous events as they would take in a sensational drama. As evening approached they wended their way peacefully home, remarking carelessly that it was all very terrible, and that the Pennsylvania Railroad had almost bankrupted the city and had only got what it deserved.

The scenes of pillage witnessed during that memorable Sunday, July 22nd, 1877, in the city of Pittsburgh, were such as were never before witnessed in this country; not even during the war between the sections. An eye witness thus describes the reign of the Commune :

“While hundreds were engaged in firing the cars and making certain of the destruction of the valuable buildings at the outer depot, thousands of men, women and children engaged in pillaging the cars. Men armed with heavy sledges would break open the cars, and then the contents would be thrown out and carried off by those bent on profiting by the reign of terror existing. The street was almost completely blockaded by persons laboring to carry off the plunder they had gathered together. In hundreds of instances wagons were pressed into service to enable thieves to get away with their goods. Mayor McCarthy, early in the day, endeavored to stop the pillage, but the handful of men at his command were unable to control the crowd, who were desperate in their anxiety to secure the goods. The pillage was checked, but the mob fired the cars, and then proceeded with the work of destruction. It is impossible to form any idea of the amount of goods stolen, but hundreds of thousands will not cover the loss. Some

of the scenes, notwithstanding the terror which seemed to paralyze peaceable and orderly citizens, were ludicrous in the highest degree, and no one seemed to enjoy them with greater zest than those outraged in the wholesale plunder. Here a brawny woman could be seen hurrying away with pairs of white kid slippers under her arms; another, carrying an infant, would be rolling a barrel of flour along the sidewalk, using her feet as the propelling power; here a man pushing a wheelbarrow loaded with white lead. Boys hurried through the crowd with large-sized family Bibles as their share of the plunder, while scores of females utilized aprons and dresses to carry flour, eggs, dry goods, etc. Bundles of umbrellas, fancy parasols, hams, bacon, leaf lard, calico, blankets, laces, and flour were mixed together in the arms of robust men, or carried on hastily constructed hand barrows."

The militia having fled the city, and there being no United States regulars at hand, the citizens of Pittsburgh were at the mercy of a mob, without the least possibility of resisting its demands. Such was the situation late Sunday evening, when an adjourned meeting of the citizens was held and a vigilance committee was raised for the purpose of preventing a further waste of property. The committee was rapidly recruited and its members were first supplied with base-ball bats, but these were afterwards exchanged for guns. They were designated by white ribbons on their arms. As soon as the force was organized they marched to Seventh avenue, where hundreds of spectators who had been waiting for some one to lead, joined with them in preventing further incendiarism. The reign of the mob was over, although threats were made that the buildings belonging to the

Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne and Chicago Railroad, and Cleveland and Pittsburgh road, on Penn street, and the Duquesne Freight Depot on Liberty street would be fired. A large number of the vigilance committee guarded these depots through the night and they were not destroyed.

The reign of the mob came to an end that night. Afterward, General Hancock and Governor Hartranft came to Pittsburgh, with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." But they found no hostile foe to conquer. General Hancock's soldiers did indeed arrest some sixty or seventy of the communistic incendiaries of Pittsburgh, and they were handed over to Governor Hartranft, who in turn directed the Attorney General of Pennsylvania to proceed against them in the courts. But the riots were virtually at an end. The citizens who were in sympathy with the strikers, had been alienated from them by the deeds of the communistic mob, and the revulsion was so marked, and so dangerous in its symptoms, that the law breakers naturally felt alarmed. The last real fight during the further continuance of the strike was between a party of seventy-five members of the citizens vigilance committee, armed with base ball bats, and a gang of rowdies on Liberty street, late Sunday evening. At first repulsed, the citizens returned to the charge and were victorious. The next day the rioters formally surrendered their arms to a committee of citizens, and the brief, but terrible war in Pittsburgh was at an end.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL MOVEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Difficulty at Erie—Rioters near Bethlehem—Sunbury Strikers—A Rabble at Altoona—Meadville Militia—Mauch Chunk Characters—Lebanon Valley Villanies—Marietta Marauders—Wilkesbarre Disturbances—Shenandoah Colliers—Hazards at Harrisburg—Scranton Miners—Hazleton Isolated—The Johnstown Murders.

While the attention of the whole country was concentrated on the momentous events happening in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Reading, Fort Wayne, and St. Louis, there were events of scarcely less significance taking place in all the considerable towns and cities throughout the entire State of Pennsylvania. Laborers in mills and factories, founderies, and mines, all over the State, were in a state of feverish excitement. The great masses of men engaged in the anthracite coal regions of the Eastern Slope, the miners of the bituminous coal fields of the West were all profoundly agitated by the events taking place throughout the Union. The employes of railroads in various parts of the State were in the closest sympathy with the objects aimed at by the strikers on the Grand Trunk lines, and in a time of such overpowering anxieties and excitement, they could scarcely be expected to remain quiet. Accordingly we find that in many places the inhabitants were called upon to endure sleepless nights, on account of the general social disturbance, and their anxieties as to what would be the end of it all.

The Atlantic Express on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad arrived at the depot in Erie, Pennsylvania, from Chicago the morning of July 24th, and was abandoned by the men. All trains both east and west on the Buffalo division were run upon a siding and left there, much to the disgust of about three hundred through passengers. The train consisted of four heavily-laden fast mail cars, and four passenger coaches. The strikers were anxious to forward the train to Buffalo, and, for this purpose, fired up an engine and put on an engineer and fireman. Orders were received from the Superintendent of the road to hold the train at Erie till further notice. A meeting of the strikers was then held. A telegram was by them sent to President Hayes, informing him that the Railroad Company, and not the strikers, were responsible for the detention of the mails. Another effort was made to take out the train, but the attempt was frustrated by the Sheriff, who had been ordered by the Superintendent to prevent the strikers from taking out the train against the Company's orders. The Mayor and other city officials, with special police, went to the scene. Addresses were made, and finally the strikers gave up the contest, took off their engineer and abandoned the train entirely. Among the passengers were about sixty women and children, who had suffered intensely from the inconvenience they had been put to. On the Erie Division of the Lake Shore Road passenger trains were run as usual. That evening the mail matter upon the cars, about fifteen tons in all, was unloaded from the cars and taken to the post office.

Superintendent Polhemus, with his party of repair men, and their escort of coal and iron police, arrived at

Odenwelders, Pennsylvania, July 24th. They had gone to repair a turn-table at that point. They were met by a large and excited crowd, who drove off the repair men, Mr. Polhemus addressed the mob with a conciliatory speech, but they replied by informing him that he was at liberty to walk back to Mauch Chunk with his force. The men then ran his engine on the side track and drew the fire.

The Philadelphia and Erie trainmen struck at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, Tuesday night, July 24th. They compelled the shop hands and machinists to strike. The excitement was great, but no overt act was committed.

The strikers at Altoona during the 24th were very quiet, although they were successful in keeping a couple of local trains from starting out. In the evening at five o'clock a train of soldiers arrived *en-route* for Pittsburgh, when the strikers congregated on the railroad and attempted to keep it from starting, but the train got off, and while it was moving out the strikers threw stones and fired a number of shots at it. Several soldiers returned the fire, but no one was hurt.

At Meadville, Pennsylvania, July 26th, orders were issued by General Hodekoper for all companies of the Seventh militia to report at Franklin to avoid a conflict or the detention of trains, as was the case before. The Meadville companies marched out to the city limits, where wagons were in waiting to convey them overland to Franklin. They arrived safely. The Greenville, Sharon, Conneautville and Erie companies also went by wagons. The Cony company attempted to go by rail, but were delayed by the Oil Creek Railroad strikers, and therefore left the train and took wagons. The Oil

Creek Greys marched also to camp. The division had one thousand men at Franklin, fully armed and equipped, and ready to move in case of an emergency.

The men on the Lehigh Valley and Lehigh and Susquehanna roads were all out, and all trains stopped running at Mauch Chunk on the 27th. The Lehigh Valley officials discharged all their men connected with the strike, and paid them off at once.

The miners at Summit Hill, struck July 27th. They demanded an advance of twenty per cent. They marched from one mine to another, with loaves of bread stuck on poles, and afterwards congregated in front of the Company's office when they demanded their pay. The Sheriff and Chief of the Police Burgess issued proclamations enjoining order, and warning all persons of the consequences of acts of violence.

At Lebanon, Pennsylvania, July 23d, a large crowd of people congregated at the depot in the evening to await the arrival of the passenger train from the East. The militia had all then left for Harrisburg. Several fights took place between militia and citizens. Freight trains arrived from Reading via Auburn and Prince Grove. The excitement was abating. No passenger or freight trains arrived then from the east or west on the Lebanon Valley Railroad. The trains on the Lebanon and Fremont Railroad were undisturbed.

At Marietta, Pennsylvania, July 23d, the firemen, brakemen, and other hands employed upon several branch lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad struck. The strikers intimidated all railroaders from running the freight trains. Three loaded cars were thrown from the track near Chiques, on the Columbia branch; and rolled into

the Susquehanna river. A large body of tramps who had collected in the woods near Marietta took advantage of the unsettled times and proceeded to carry on organized outlawry. The malcontent railroad men formed in procession and marched from point to point, stationing patrols wherever there was a possibility of the non-union employes attempting to take a train out. The number of strikers increased by the accession of train hands from other divisions of the road. The strikers were well armed, and many of them amply provided to fight with the military. An attempt was made to destroy a signal tower just below Columbia during the morning, but the fire started by the rioters died out after the incendiaries had gone. Some of the leaders in the Baltimore and Pittsburgh riot arrived, and endeavored to prevail upon the other dissatisfied men, not connected with the railroad, to join in the strike. Much excitement prevailed, and the arrival of the troops was awaited with great anxiety.

A band of twenty strikers from Easton, reached Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, July 25th, and congregated at Bethlehem Junction. At ten o'clock when the passenger train on the Bath branch of the Central Railroad of New Jersey was ready to start for Bath, they took possession of the train, uncoupled it from the engine, and warned the crew that if they undertook to run the train through, they would do so at their peril. A large number of citizens came to the rescue, and while Despatcher Steinman was holding consultation with the strikers, the train was recoupled and pulled out very rapidly. The strikers made an effort to uncouple the last car but failed. W. S. Polhemus, Assistant General Superintendent of the

Lehigh and Susquehanna Divisions of the New Jersey Central road, arrived there in a special car with a squad of the Coal and Iron Police under Captain Williams. A crew was made up, and the through car from Philadelphia to Mauch Chunk was taken by them to its destination.

Events culminated at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, in a general strike of the railroad men and miners on the 25th of July. All day long meetings were held by them in different portions of the city. At some of the most important, newspaper reporters were refused entrance. Every application for admission was thoroughly examined before the privilege was granted. From those who attended the meetings it was ascertained that the main business was the appointing of committees to wait on the officials who resided there, and through them to make their demands known. Several small companies of soldiers arrived at Wilkesbarre and were immediately marched to the encampment at Lee Park. There were then nearly a thousand soldiers in that city. At a late hour at night notices were posted up at the Lehigh Valley Depot, designating what trains would be stopped the next day. Up to noon everything went along the road as usual, but this was to allow the morning trains to reach their destinations. During the afternoon one eastern bound freight train on the Valley road was stopped, and the engineer ordered to run his train on a side track and get off his engine. The order was obeyed. Nearly five hundred people were assembled at that place at the time.

The situation in the anthracite coal region near Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, had become very disquieting, and

business of all kinds was at a standstill on July 27. Since the long strike of '75, the miners of that region had been dissatisfied with their lot, and unfortunately their grounds of complaint had become more palpable with the lapse of time. Prior to 1875 the average wages of miners were very large, ranging between one hundred and one hundred and fifty dollars a month a piece, but since that time wages have been steadily decreasing until a good miner could scarcely earn in a month what he considered pay for a fair ten days work three years ago. Their dissatisfaction would be easily understood. At the market price of coal, labor was worth nothing, although the laborer is said to be worthy of his hire. No strike had occurred in Schuylkill County, though in several parts the miners were pretty evenly balancing upon the question of "strike or no strike." The most intelligent among them were not in favor of going out, saying that half a loaf was better than no bread, while others more obtuse, said: "We might as well die at once as starve by inches." The majority of the workingmen of that region were hot-headed in the extreme, and as a rule, looked after they had leaped. On account of the numerous railway strikes there had been a great deal of excitement among the men, and in various parts of the county parades were inaugurated for the purpose of creating sentiment in favor of the strikers and those who contemplated joining. There were several demonstrations there, and to protect themselves against what might possibly occur through the efforts of demagogues, the citizens organized a home guard. In this they followed the example of the citizens of Shamokin, the coal centre of Northumberland

County. This was the place where the mob endeavored to inaugurate a scene of riot and bloodshed, but were happily defeated in their object. In Luzerne County the miners were out in several districts, and this may be placed to the credit of the strikers on the Lehigh Valley and Jersey Central Railroads, though the miners of Luzerne earned much lower wages than their Schuylkill County brethren. Fears were entertained at Shenandoah that the Luzerne men might visit Schuylkill, and if that fear was verified, trouble would probably result, as the miners of Luzerne were perfectly aware that whatever misfortune happened Schuylkill was money in their pockets.

The strikers at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, stopped all trains on the evening of July 25th. A mob numbering four thousand filled the depot and streets adjacent, but there were few railroaders in the crowd. There was a disposition manifested to allow all passenger trains to pass, and a number passed both east and west. The freight trains had all been stopped, and none were running. The Reading employes struck that morning and ran the freight engine into the roundhouse. The city was filled with rough looking men drawn there by the strike, most of them being tramps, and trouble was feared by their depredations. Eight hundred troops, comprising General Schofield's division were encamped in the vicinity of the arsenal guarding Government stores. They came that morning and consisted of nine companies from Schuylkill County, two from Lebanon, and one from Harrisburg. A number of Philadelphia soldiers started from Altoona for home on the evening of the 23rd. Some of them left the train at Bell's Mills, and some,

among them the First City Troop, came as far as Rockville, where they disembarked because they learned they were to do guard duty at the arsenal. It was a fact that the First City Troop left Rockville and walked home by a roundabout way to avoid the city. A number of soldiers who came from Altoona, were disarmed by a mob without offering any resistance. The Pennsylvania railroad officials at Harrisburg were powerless to prevent the strikers from stopping trains. Their hands were tied, and there was no military or civil authority to help them. A crowd which crossed the river in search of Philadelphia militia-men reported coming towards Harrisburg, returned to that city about seven o'clock in the evening with twenty-three men of the First and Second Regiments as their prisoners. The captives were well fed and treated courteously by the strikers. Captain Snowden and thirty-two men of the City Troop of Philadelphia, were found a mile outside of the city and conducted to the State Arsenal, where they were quartered. At ten o'clock on the evening of the 23rd, the mob forced an entrance into Altemeir's gun store on Second street, Harrisburg, and seized a quantity of firearms. Mayor Patterson addressed the crowd and induced them to return a part of their plunder. Intense excitement prevailed.

The entire Lackawanna region was idle by the 30th of July. A short time before, this region sent nearly 150,000 tons of coal to market. It now ceased to send any.

The miners of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company quit work, and those of the Pennsylvania Coal Company were in enforced idleness on account of the

destruction of a head-house and bridge on their gravity railroad. The head-house, which was situated in the woods east of Scranton, was burned down by a mob which surprised the watchman and tied him with ropes to a neighboring tree. They saturated the wood-work and set it off with a match. It made a fierce blaze which was plainly visible at Scranton. The destruction of the head-house caused a complete stoppage from Hawley to Pittston. It was not the work of the Company's employes, but of outside persons who took that mode of forcing the strike upon them. The Pennsylvania Coal Company had recently been working on full time at their mines, and the best of feeling existed between themselves and their workmen. The latter were indignant at the dastardly act. The prospects are that the burned property will not be replaced until the dispute between labor and capital is settled.

A bridge on the Company's road was burned at Spring Brook. It was promptly replaced, and within three days it was again destroyed.

At Mill Creek, on the Delaware and Hudson Road, a band of six hundred miners surprised a loaded coal train on Saturday, and forced the men to abandon it. There was not a mine worked in the valley on the 30th of July, and all railroad communications with outside towns were thoroughly blockaded.

Mr. John Brisbin, of New York, went to Scranton to consult with the local officers of the corporation, but no effort had been made to recover control of the railroads or mines. Governor Hartranft had transferred to Mayor McKiane the services of the State militia, but the Mayor declined, as he did not want to shoulder the responsibility

of calling out the military. The city became very much excited over a rumor that the regular troops were going there to protect the men at the mine pumps in order to prevent the mines from flooding. A strong company of old soldiers was organized for the protection of life and property, and every man slept with a musket at his bedside ready to rush out at the sound of the gong.

The strike on the main line of the Lehigh Valley road, July 26th, resulted in a stoppage of nearly all trains on the Hazelton branch. An engine and mail car went to Tomhickon and conveyed the mail and a few passengers from Sunbury. A committee of strikers went down from Wilkesbarre and induced the employes of the Hazelton division to strike. The committee proceeded to Weatherly. The coal trains on the Beaver Meadow and Mahanoy divisions were running, but on account of the strike on the main lines, coal trains could not get beyond Packerton.

When the detachments of the First, Third and Fifth United States Regular Artillery, commanded by Colonel Hamilton, which left Philadelphia the 26th, reached Johnstown, on the Pennsylvania road, the train was stormed and fired into by a mob at that place, and several of the soldiers wounded. The regulars disembarked, and a fight ensued in which a number of persons were killed. Troops were massed at that point. The new Twentieth Regiment, composed of veterans, left Philadelphia fully armed and equipped for the scene of the fight.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TUMULT AT BUFFALO.

The Beginning of the Trouble—A Militia Company Arrives—Exasperated Strikers—Business Suspended—The Railways all Cease to Transport Freight—Threatening Outlook—Governor Robinson's Proclamation—Military Movements—The Strike Collapses.

The trouble at Hornellsville did not immediately effect the regular course of business at Buffalo. But it became manifest from the movements among the workmen, that the city was not to be so fortunate as to escape an infliction of tumult and business stagnation such as other cities were suffering. It came to Buffalo rather suddenly, although not wholly unexpected.

About nine o'clock, Monday evening, July 23d, a Lake Shore train having on board a company of militia from Westfield, was stopped at Tiff's Station, just out of the city, by a party of strikers. They swarmed into the cars and began to take the soldiers' muskets away from them. This brought on a fight, in the course of which there was some pretty brisk firing at close quarters. The result was that the militia fled, leaving ten muskets in the hands of the strikers. Only one of the latter, Michael Lyon, is known to have been killed. Following is the list of wounded: William Berrigan, right side; Patrick Breen, mouth and neck; John Clay, switchman, through the lungs, afterward died; W. J. L. Hickey, in the leg; Paul Lang, right thigh, badly; M.

Murphy, knee, badly. None of the soldiers were killed.

The morning passed without serious disturbances. Gangs of men and boys made the rounds of the factories, urging the hands to quit work, but they accomplished nothing. Nearly all the engines were in the shops and yards, which, with the depots, were heavily guarded. No freight trains had been started during the day, and only one passenger train—that for Niagara Falls, over the Central road. Two Falls' trains arrived, and the Erie mail. On all the crossing switches white flags were displayed with the words, in black letters, "We will let the mail go." The strikers were quiet but resolute.

Travel was stopped on every one of the ten lines touching Buffalo, and the only way out then was by boat. All day the depots were surrounded by the mob, numbering about two thousand men and boys—a very large proportion of them roughs, with whom the real strikers did not sympathize. No hostile demonstration had been made against railway property since the preceding night, when the mob numbered nearly three thousand, being much larger at night than in the day. The mob later in the evening began to collect in large force in various parts of the city. It became a vast multitude before ten o'clock at night.

The railroad yards at Buffalo stretched nearly ten miles eastward, and the rioters were scattered along this distance, thus making no great show at any one point. The arrangements for the defense of the city were wholly inadequate. There were only seven hundred soldiers there. Of these, one company was thoroughly thrashed by the mob Monday night, seventeen of its men being wounded or missing; another, an artillery

company, was armed with muskets, and a third was an unmounted cavalry company. There were only three hundred police, aided by a few specials sworn in Monday. Several of the wounded Westfield soldiers came out of hiding at noon the next day to have their wounds dressed.

There was great annoyance and some suffering from the embargo on travel. Women travelling with funds sufficient only for the journey were left in bad straits, and some required the assistance of the charitable. Ten "drummers" hired a tug Tuesday afternoon and started for Rochester by the canal, hoping to reach that city by the following morning. Many passengers from the East had come from Niagara Falls, twenty-three miles, in carriages. There were miles of freight and passenger cars on the tracks, and, it was estimated, more than a million dollars worth of freight.

The few soldiers who were at Buffalo spoke with great repugnance to firing into the mob. Many of them sympathized with the strikers, and many women and children followed their husbands and fathers into the crowds. A mail train for Elmira was allowed to go out on the Erie, Tuesday morning, and several Canada Southern passenger trains were permitted to pass, but at a late hour in the evening everything was shut tight.

Hot work was anticipated. The air was full of rumors of an attempt to burn the roundhouse of the Lake Shore Railroad. General Rogers was making all possible preparations. Some three hundred special police were sworn in, and the Board of Police issued the following notice:

"The Board of Police desire each and every citizen of

Buffalo who believes in the supremacy of the law, to call at the headquarters of the Police Department and take the oath and responsibility of special patrolman, without pay, for the maintenance of order and the protection of the property of our citizens."

The Sheriff also issued a call to over five hundred citizens for a meeting at his office. The citizens were fully aroused to the urgency of the case.

A mob from the Lake Shore and Erie Railroad, Tuesday morning, took the firemen and brakemen from the New York Central trains, and unloaded the stock and warned employes from further work. No disposition was shown on the part of the New York Central employes to join the strikers.

The Lake Shore and Erie shops were closed. The mob was in quiet possession and undemonstrative. Lake Shore live stock trains were stopped at Collingwood and unloaded indiscriminately. Stock was being received regularly by the Canada roads.

At seven o'clock Tuesday evening, the mob reinforced by large numbers, called at the car shops of the Lake Shore and Erie Companies and ordered all workmen to quit, which they did with the greatest alacrity.

About four in the afternoon of that day, a Buffalo and Jamestown train, which departs from the Erie depot, on arriving at Compromise crossing, two miles from the depot, had the passenger coaches blocked and stoned on the central track, and the fireman forcibly taken from the engine. Superintendent Doyle, who was on the train, remonstrated with the strikers, stating that there had been no reduction of wages on the road since its inauguration. The effect of the statement resulted in

bringing back the coach by the strikers, who coupled it on and assured the Superintendent that nothing would be done in any way to interfere with the working of his road.

Early in the afternoon an assault was made by nearly two thousand rioters on about two hundred soldiers, who were guarding the Lake Shore roundhouse. The military were obliged to leave the building, which was barricaded by the mob, who proceeded to place cars in position as a defence against attack. Colonel Flack, of the Sixty-fifth Regiment, with about thirty men and three officers, exhibiting a total want of judgment, proceeded to the roundhouse to retake it from the mob. They were met with yells of derision from the crowd, and, under a shower of stones, were obliged to retreat with precipitate haste and force their way through an angry multitude at the point of the bayonet. Some soldiers were seriously cut on the hands with knives, and many others were clubbed. Four soldiers lost muskets, which, however, were afterward recovered. Colonel Flack, who was severely beaten and twice knocked down, fled across the canal, and was obliged to take refuge in the Lake Shore paint-shop.

The engineers of the Erie and Lake Shore roads signed an agreement with the firemen not to run with green hands; New York Central engineers followed by agreeing to the same pledge that evening.

During the night the excitement in Buffalo was very great. The situation was critical. No number of troops sufficiently strong to contend against the vast multitude of rioters, was within easy distance of the city. The experience of Pittsburgh, had the effect of intensifying

the general feeling of apprehension. All business was suspended. Banks refused to discount drafts on New York, and the consequence was a stringency in the money market, which had a most depressing effect upon the people. Meanwhile the number of the rioters was increasing, and the workingmen in other industries than railroad operations had quit their employments. The tramps from a wide section of the adjacent country, were concentrating in the city.

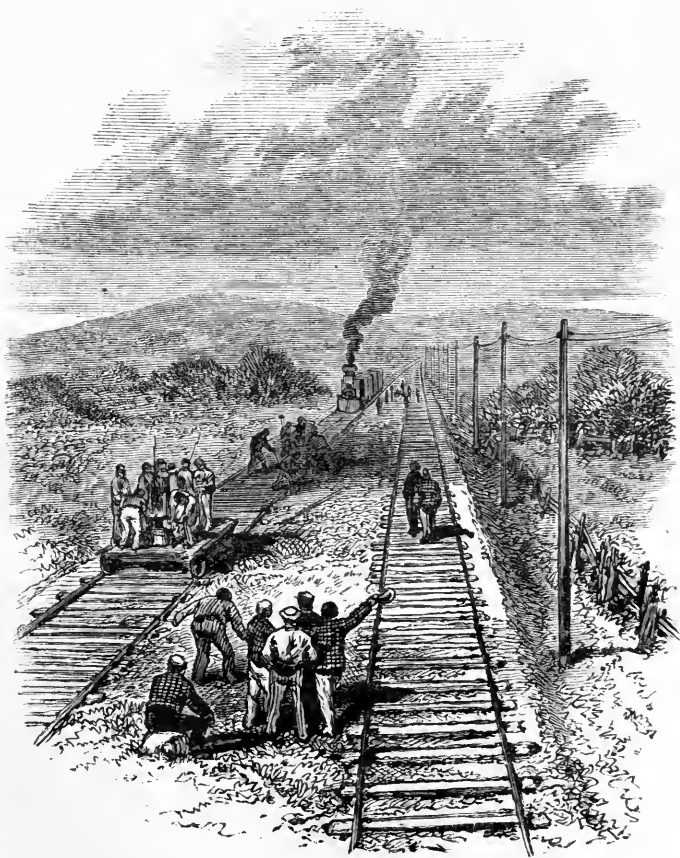
The managers of the New York Central and Lake Shore Railroads declined to forward the mails unless permitted to send out passenger trains also, to which the strikers objected, and a deputation of strikers visited the postmaster the afternoon of the 24th, and asked him to forward the mails, stating that they would see them safely through. A mail car was sent East that morning, and another went the next morning on the Erie Road.

The citizens organized as special police, and arrangements were made for the protection of the city. The military were on guard at the Exchange street depots all day, and notwithstanding large crowds filled the streets in the vicinity, no serious collisions occurred. At ten o'clock Tuesday evening the police charged upon the mass on Michigan street, and succeeded in clearing an open space. A gang during the day visited many of the large manufactories, and attempted to drive out the workmen, but in only a few places were they successful. Whenever the police found them in force they were promptly dispersed. The Westfield company, who were set upon and scattered the previous night by the strikers, came into the city Tuesday morning with only thirty-six men and seventeen guns. They left Westfield with

fifty seven men. The following were the names of the wounded belonging to that company. Corporal James C. Hale, Privates, Orville Ogden, William Rickenbro, Dell Barber, George Hursted, W. J. Harvey and Walter H. Dixon.

The members of the Grand Army of the Republic residing in Buffalo, numbering about one hundred and seventy-five, organized as a company, and tendered their services to the Mayor for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens. Mayor Becker, Tuesday evening, issued his proclamation ordering all saloons to be closed during the evenings, until order could be restored. He also called upon the citizens to enroll as special police for the protection of the city.

The arrest of B. J. Donohue, who was apparently the organizer of the strikers at Buffalo, as well as Hornellsville, and indeed throughout Western New York, was an episode in the history of movements in that section of no little interest, and considerable importance. To this man, more than any other, was due the completeness and effectiveness of the strike on the Erie and Lake Shore roads. He organized it, not only at Hornellsville, but throughout the Western Division of the Erie Railroad. He managed it in his own way, establishing his headquarters with all the confidence of a military chieftain taking command of his forces. His orders were the law of the strikers and possibly the cause of the strike. He showed himself as much a favorite among trackmen, brakemen and firemen on the road as was Jack Kehoe, the King of the Mollies, among the miners of the anthracite region. And as Kehoe was not a



THE CONSTRUCTION GANG REPAIRING THE TRACKS UNDER PROTECTION OF THE MILITIA.

miner, so Donohue, properly speaking, was not a rail-roader. Sometimes he served as a brakeman, but then only as a substitute; and once he kept a saloon. His real business was that of the "timer," or "buyer of time," and he made large profits out of the people whose champion he assumed to be, by advancing them money at a high interest—as much as fifteen per cent. it is asserted—in anticipation of the paymaster. When the strike, which impended because of the reduction of wages at the beginning of July last, was ordered, Donohue was made chairman of the committee having the matter in charge. In this way he naturally became the leader when the strike actually came; and more than this, it may be said that the strike was his own creation.

At Buffalo, the strike had almost spent its force. The failure of the strikers to engage the employes of the New York Central and other roads, having termini at that city, prevented a thorough organization of the labor forces. A few regiments of men had been sent to Buffalo from other points, but their services were not needed. By the 25th of July, the main trouble was over. But for several days society was more or less disturbed. The police authorities made numerous arrests—indeed the prisons were for a time crowded, but, as in other cities, they were nearly all subsequently released, and even those against whom charges of overt acts were preferred, were enabled to secure acquittals and dismissals in the courts.

During the first days of the troubles at Hornellsville and Buffalo, Governor Robinson of New York, who had gone to Elnira, issued the following proclamation:

ELMIRA, N. Y., July 22.

In the name of the State of New York,

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The Receiver appointed by the Supreme Court of this State to take care of the management of the Erie Railway and its properties has made known to me that a conspriacy has been formed to prevent his discharging his duty as such receiver under the orders of said court; that the business of said road and the running of trains has been interrupted by violence, which the civil authorities are unable to suppress, and

Whereas, The honor and good faith of the State require that it should protect the said court and its officers in the executions of its order.

Now, therefore, I, Lucius Robinson, Governor of the State of New York, by virtue of the authority imposed upon me by the Constitution and the laws, command all persons engaged in such unlawful acts to desist therefrom, and I call upon all good citizens and upon all authorities, civil and military, to aid in suppressing the same, and in preventing breaches of the peace.

The law recognizes and protects the right of all men to refuse to work except upon terms satisfactory to themselves. But it does not permit them to prevent other men from working who desire to do so. Unless the State is to be given up to anarchy, and its courts and laws are to be defied with impunity, its whole power must be exerted to suppress violence, maintain order, and protect its citizens in their right to work, and the business of the country from lawless interruption within

our borders. It is no longer a question of wages, but of the supremacy of the law, which protects alike the lives, the liberty, the property, and the rights of all classes of citizens. To the maintenance of that supremacy the whole power of the State will be invoked if necessary.

Given under my hand, at the City of Elmira, in the State of New York, this twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

L. ROBINSON.

By the Governor,

D. C. ROBINSON, Private Secretary.

The last expiring throes of the mob-spirit was exhibited at Buffalo on the 26th, when a mob of idlers marched through the streets, visiting manufactories and other establishments where large numbers of men were employed, for the purpose of inducing the laborers to strike. In these movements they were unsuccessful, and were easily dispersed at a later hour in the day by a troop of mounted policemen.

By the close of the day on the 26th trains had resumed on all the roads, and the City of Buffalo had assumed its ordinary appearance, the people having returned to their customary avocations. The days of excitement were past, the strike had ended.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Precautionary Measures—The Rioter Declared to be in a State of Insurrection—Indications of Trouble in Other Regions—General Schofield Ordered to Washington—Determination to Send General Hancock to Pittsburgh—The Rule of the Mob to be Overthrown by the Friends of Law and Order.

The tendency to complete anarchy had become so manifest that the Government at Washington began to look at it in the light of an insurrection of a most formidable character—more dangerous, indeed, than would be a revolt of State governments.

The Cabinet held almost daily meetings about this time. On the 24th, a protracted session was held. The subject discussed was the situation of the country, and the difficulty experienced by the Government in consequence of the strike.

The Treasury Department had become seriously embarrassed on account of the inability experienced in despatching and receiving shipments of bonds and currency.

At another meeting of the Cabinet on the 25th, it was formally decided to treat the riotous demonstrations all over the country as an insurrection, and to suppress it in accordance with the law of the United States and the statutes in such cases made and provided. That was the temper of the Cabinet meeting. It was ordered that additional troops should be stationed along the line of

the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, for the purpose of opening at once the entire line to freight and passenger traffic. The troops which arrived at Washington from the South, Thursday night, were forwarded to Martinsburg and Cumberland to re-enforce those already there. Every person who resisted them were to be held amenable under the President's proclamation, and, if possible, were to be promptly arrested. All unlawful gatherings were to be dispersed. It was also determined to sustain Governor Hartranft in his proclamation, open the Pennsylvania road, and suppress the resistance elsewhere to the laws in Pennsylvania.

There had been such a concentration of the regular army and marine and naval forces, that no doubt was entertained of the ability of the Government to put down the rioters and place the railroads in running order.

Public attention had been directed mainly to St. Louis and Chicago. The despatches from the Eastern States continued to be reassuring, and the opinion at the War Department was that there would be little or no trouble in the East thereafter. The opening of the Erie road, the persistent refusal of the New York Central employes to strike, and the failure of the Commune meeting in New York, had contributed to that belief.

Major-General Schofield, of the regular army, arrived at Washington, Wednesday, July 25th, and had a long conference with the President and members of the Cabinet. He subsequently furnished some very interesting statements of the situation in the States under the command of General Hancock, with whom he was co-operating, and of the intentions of the Government. He regarded Pittsburgh as the important place, and said the

Government was resolved to suppress every vestige of mob violence there in the next twenty-four hours. He feared there would be a water famine in that city, and did not believe that provisions would hold out there beyond three days. It was therefore necessary that the men should return to work on the railroads and on the water works.

"We are determined," he said, "to operate the roads, re-open the shops, and to restore business and confidence. The troops which go to Pittsburgh under General Hancock's orders will see that all these are accomplished. It will show the rioters in the West and New York that the Government is of the people and with the people in restoring law and order."

General Schofield in speaking of the offers from the South was well pleased with it, and said that from what he had heard, one hundred thousand men were ready to come at the call of the President to protect the Government and State from insurrectionary movements. He said the Government had removed all the regular troops from the South, except a few in the forts, and was amply prepared with them and other detachments from the East and West to protect St. Louis, Chicago and other cities. Referring to the strength of the regular army, General Schofield said that when General Sherman publicly spoke in New York, recently, of the dependence of the Government upon it he knew what he was about, for he had travelled about the country extensively and knew its condition and the trouble likely to grow out of it and the probability that the Government would be called upon to protect the people from them. It was the duty of the army, General Schofield maintained, to aid in:

suppressing the present revolt, and the duty of congress and the legislatures to provide legislation to prevent another one in future. General Schofield added that he found the President fully alive to the situation, and determined in his purpose to restore peace at once and that he had forces sufficient to accomplished it.

Senator Saunders, of Nebraska, and Kirkwood, of Iowa, called on the President, Wednesday the 25th, and informed him that the situation in the West and Northwest was serious, and that if he should decide to call an extra session of congress, they would be among the first to approve his course. They declared that the public sentiment of their section was against mob-rule. The President replied that he was opposed to calling congress together. He did not think it would afford any immediate remedy for the existing troubles, which he believed would be out of the way long before congress could be convened. It does not appear that the question of calling an extra session had been seriously considered by the President and Cabinet since the demonstrations began.

Five companies of the Eighteenth Infantry arrived at Washington, on the 25th of July, from South Carolina, under command of Colonel Black, and three of the companies left early the next morning, under command of the same officer, to join General Getty's command at Cumberland, Maryland. The other two companies remained at Washington, ready to be forwarded to any neighboring point should their services be needed. The Eighteenth Infantry is General Ruger's regiment, but that officer did not come with it, he being in command of the department of the South. General Schofield, ac-

accompanied by his aid, Lieutenant Michler, arrived from Philadelphia, Tuesday night. He had returned to Washington, at the request of the President, who desired a full report from him, he having been sent to Philadelphia to confer with General Hancock, who is the senior Major-General in command.

The troops from the Department of the Gulf ordered to Louisville, Kentucky, reached that city Thursday, as was reported to the War Department.

The Cabinet determined that General Hancock should proceed to Pittsburgh with a large force of troops, and he started for that place immediately. The principal object in his going over the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad to Pittsburgh was to aid the workingmen in rebuilding the roads that supplies might be sent to the various cities along the line, and to establish communication between Philadelphia and the interior of the State.

The following is the substance of the order which assigned Major-General Schofield to the command of the troops in Washington.

"By direction of the President, Major-General Schofield is assigned to temporary duty at the Headquarters of the Army, dating from the 23d instant, in addition to his command of the Department of West Point.

The forces of the United States, including the Navy and Marine Corps in the District of Columbia, will be reported to Major-General Schofield and act under his command."

Tuesday afternoon a large crowd gathered on Virginia avenue, South Washington, and along the line of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, upon which was stand-

ing a locomotive and five cars filled with soldiers of the Third, Fifth and Second Artillery, who, with two companies of infantry, were about to depart for Philadelphia. A report was started and rapidly circulated that the engineer of the locomotive, which was to head the train, had declared that he would carry no "troop train" out of Washington, and this report, coupled with other rumors to the effect that the cars would not be allowed to leave, quickly stirred up considerable excitement. The crowd was composed largely of laboring men, two-thirds of whom were colored. It did not appear that any railroads hands were mingling in the commotion. Several of them were at work at the scene assisting loading cars, repairing tracks, and performing the respective duties with fidelity and were in no way molested, but held themselves aloof from any exciting conversation. Major Richards, Chief of Police, with an efficient detachment of the police force, was in the midst of the crowd, having promptly responded to the reports of anticipated trouble, and their presence undoubtedly had a salutary effect in preserving order. The soldiers quietly watched from the car windows the proceedings on the streets. In addition to the rifles of the troops, two Gatling guns and two caissons were shipped on the train. About 4:30, everything being in readiness, the bell sounded, and the train moved off with its regular employes attending to their duties. Some of the crowd cheered and called out to the soldiers not to shoot at the strikers, and several of the men in the cars waved hats and handkerchiefs from the windows. The crowd soon scattered, and absolute quiet reigned. It was the intention of the Government to throw a strong force along

the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as far west as the Ohio river, for the purpose of opening and keeping that road open to freight and passenger trains.

The Post office and War Departments were thoroughly advised of the situation at various points. A telegram from a thoroughly reliable source, received from Lynchburgh, Va., mentioned that the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio, the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia, the Memphis and Charleston, and the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad Companies had no trouble on their lines, nor was it believed that any would occur. A telegram received at the War Department from General Pope, announced that the danger of mob violence at St. Louis was lessening hourly. Another subject in connection with the strike which was discussed at length in the Cabinet meeting, was in regard to the United States courts sustaining receivers appointed by them for certain roads. The courts were to issue writs to the Marshals, instructing them to see that the roads in the hands of receivers were not interfered with by rioters, and the Marshals had the power, if necessary, to summon a *posse* to enforce the orders of the courts. This order brought the rioters in direct opposition to the power of the Federal Government in any attempt to interfere with any roads in the hands of receivers, and it was agreed by the Cabinet that the whole power of the Government should be brought to bear to sustain the United States Marshals, in case of necessity.

General Vincent was on duty at the War Department, and in almost constant receipt of despatches from the military commanders at the various points of disturbance.

The telegrams were promptly sent to the President at the Soldiers' Home, giving him information as to the condition of affairs in the various cities. The regular troops in Chicago were, as in other States, under the orders of the Governor, and under those orders they were placed subject to the Mayor of Chicago, for the protection of property, and to maintain the peace. The forces in that city were six companies of the Twenty-second Infantry and six companies of the Ninth Infantry.

Colonel Black, in command of three companies of the Eighteenth Infantry, went from Washington and reached Cumberland, and then proceeded to Grafton, West Virginia. General Pope telegraphed that the last of the fourteen companies ordered from the West to St. Louis would reach there Tuesday morning. He considered the public property at St. Louis and Chicago secure. General Ruger had been ordered by General Hancock to Louisville, and to assume immediate control of the troops at that point and at Newport. Batteries D and I, of the Fifth Artillery, from the Department of the South, reached Baltimore Tuesday afternoon.

The forces of the United States steamer Tallapoosa, receiving ship Wyoming, at the navy yard at Washington, were kept in readiness to be sent to any point upon brief notice. The Secretary of the Navy also gave orders to have the force and vessels at the Philadelphia Navy Yard in readiness for service, to protect public property in that city, and aid the civil authorities in the maintenance of law and order.

The Adams Express Company advised the Treasury Department on the 24th, that for the present it would not transport money packages between New York and Washington, considering such service to be unsafe.

The situation of Pennsylvania having become alarming, the Governor of that State, hastening home from the West, whither he had gone, called out the military forces of the State, and made a formal call upon the President of the United States for assistance, whereupon the following document was promulgated :

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, It is provided in the Constitution of the United States, that the United States shall protect every State in the Union on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence ; and

Whereas, The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania has represented that domestic violence exists in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress : and

Whereas, The laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever, in the judgment of the President, it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrections or obstructions to the laws, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time ;

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings, and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with the said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws,

to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before twelve o'clock noon, of the 24th day of July instant.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 23d day of July, in the year of Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and second.

R. B. HAYES.

By the President :

WILLIAM M. EVARTS, Secretary of State.

Many prominent citizens of Washington had a satisfactory interview with Secretary McCrary and Secretary Thompson in regard to the extent and character of the forces at hand for the protection of the capital city, in case of emergency. Both the Secretary of War and of the Navy were prompt in giving the assurance that the force of the Government was ample, and in a position to be readily available for the protection of both public and private property in Washington. They expressed satisfaction with the assurance that the citizens of Washington would be ready to co-operate with the Government authorities in the maintenance of public order.

The War Department about this time presented a scene of unusual activity, numerous telegrams were being transmitted between the Department and various military commanders, especially General Pope, commanding the Department of the Missouri, and General Hancock, commanding the Military Division of the Atlantic, in regard

to the movements of troops for the protection of public property. Adjutant General Townsend, with a corps of assistants remained at the Department throughout the night.

The measures taken by the general Government for the protection of Pennsylvania were bearing good fruits. About this time a despatch was received at Army Headquarters from General Hancock, at Philadelphia, in which he reported that matters were comparatively quite, that citizens were organizing for the purpose of preserving peace. Information in the hands of the Government warranted the belief that affairs were less threatening in all the disturbed districts, with the exception of Reading. The Government had no available troops to send to Reading, but efforts were made to cover that point at an early time. The Government had made most efficient arrangements through the Signal Office for communication throughout the entire country, and were receiving despatches regularly every hour, giving information as to the condition of affairs. Great activity prevailed in the Adjutant General's Office and Ordinance Departments. The President and Secretary of War were momentarily advised by telegraph of any change in the situation. The Adjutant General prepared a statement of the United States forces in the South, and if necessary, it was determined to order North the remainder of the troops, save a small force as a guard to Government property.

Orders were issued from the Navy Department to have the various iron-clads at Washington, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, prepared for service immediately, and engineer officers were ordered to report on board, to move them without delay should it become necessary to do so.

The President visited both the War and Navy Departments, and held consultations with Secretaries McCrary and Thompson.

In high administration circles it was believed that the crisis in the pending strikes was past, and by mutual concessions, the pending differences between the railroad companies and their employes would be satisfactorily adjusted. It was not believed that the financial question, as had been alleged in some quarters, had any thing to do with the outbreaks along the lines of the railroads, but that they were entirely of a local nature. It was shown in fact, that at Pittsburgh, for instance, where there is an arsenal in which was stored a large supply of arms and ammunition, no hostile demonstrations were made which might be construed into antagonism to the Government.

Little by little the truth leaked out, until men were well informed of the inner councils and earlier purposes of the Administration, and were constrained to marvel at the facility with which the President bent to the orders of Colonel Thomas A Scott and men like Colonel Scott. It is not easy to understand clearly what passed in the Cabinet, but it is possible to comprehend that the emphatic declaration of Evarts—and one or two other Secretaries used the same phrase—in detailing the Cabinet decisions and discussions that the Government should not and must not go into the railroad business, presented the weakness of the National Administration in a manner to be deplored by every patriotic American.

Three Cabinet meetings in twenty-four hours gave a very fair gauge of the anxiety of the administration and the perplexity of the President. The late war saw little

like this quick succession of councils, and fortunately nothing like the lack of counsel. The Cabinet sat two hours one day and separated. No second meeting was expected during that day. The President and Secretary McCrary drove out to the Soldier's Home. They went five miles out of town to Edgemount. All the afternoon messages were passing over the long unused wire to the old Presidential cottage.

The President grew more and more alarmed, and Colonel Thomas A. Scott pelted him with despatches, peremptory and dictatorial. The whole series of despatches from railroad chiefs like Garret and Scott during those days of trouble would give the public a curious notion of the temper in which these men regard the President of the United States. Colonel Thomas A. Scott demanded extreme measures—all but commanded them. Pennsylvania must be declared in rebellion; the President must call for volunteers; the roads must be protected at once by the general Government. And the despatches were enforced by the arrival of his private Secretary in a special car. The text of these despatches are known to few, but they were read at the Cabinet meetings and left on the minds of one or two of the Cabinet Ministers the impression that the "railroads wanted to run the Government." What and how much this means will hardly be believed on any thing short of the authority of a Cabinet Minister, but despatches were received demanding not only the preservation of the peace, but the movement of the trains by the Government. These men, speaking of their private property and personal interests as a national enterprise, declared that the riot could not be quieted until the Government had enabled them to run

the trains which lay blockaded by supplying men, or supplying force to get men for the purpose. And the demand was backed by the declaration that the Government was bound to see not that peace, but that the commerce of the country was re-established in its usual channels. The President gave way before the pressure and drove to town again the same day, with confused ideas as to what should be done at the conference at Evart's house, but with clear ideas that something should be done to satisfy the demands of the roads. The story that only Evarts prevented rash orders, or the still wilder step of a declaration of insurrection and a call for volunteers is probably not far from the truth. True or false, certain it is that the conference met in that nervous uncertainty which drives together men too much alarmed to remain apart. Although called to take some signal step, the Cabinet conference adjourned without result.

Two hours longer the Cabinet talked and worried over the fear of a great disaster. A great heap of despatches had accumulated. Scott's messages and the messages of men like him had grown sharp. The fond hope that the strike was failing was overthrown by the news from Philadelphia that an oil train was on fire.

For the third time the Cabinet carefully rehearsed the forces at their disposal, and this discussion the Cabinet went over time and again, vaguely estimating the number of militia regiments on whom the Government could depend, with such vague data as existed at Washington. The fidelity of the regiments in New York was discussed, and the number of trustworthy men which Hartranft's last call would bring to the field, was calculated. Some purpose of pushing the general Govern-

ment to the front as the chief actor in suppressing these riots, instead of keeping it upon the safe ground of an aid to the legitimate State authority, appears to have divided the Cabinet, it having been very pertinently agreed that no Presidential proclamation would insure the fidelity of a doubtful regiment, while a hasty attempt to enlist and arm volunteers was not to be thought of. The proclamation concerning Pennsylvania in terms like the two which preceded it, was at last agreed upon, but not before the Cabinet reached the conclusion that the only militia on which full reliance could be placed, were in New England and the South, and it was timidly suggested by this singular council that an attempt to suppress widespread disorder in the Middle States by marching into them troops of the Southern and Eastern States, would mean more than a suppression of a riot, it might mean sectional war.

The position assumed by the railroad companies in regard to the running of mail trains was a most serious obstacle to the proper despatch of the postal service. The gravest trouble was at Chicago, from which place the following dispatch was received by the Post-office Department from James E. White, Assistant Superintendent Railway Transportation :

“Companies state that they expect strikers to take possession of mail trains, and run them. I have been asked by such companies to instruct clerks and agents to allow none but authorized agents of the Companies to proceed with mail cars in case attempts are made by strikers to run said cars. I am asked to instruct clerks and agents to place the mail in charge of the nearest post-office. I cannot issue such instructions, and believe clerks and

agents should accompany these cars and distribute the mails no matter who run the cars. Am I right? Please answer, that I may know how to act. A fight is now in progress on the Burlington road exit from city."

In the particular matter at issue the Department appeared to have no definite policy, it was very anxious to move the mails, and it did not wish to break with the roads. To the above despatch the following answer was sent :

"The question you submit as to what the Department will do if strikers take possession of, and propose to run mail trains, will be promptly decided when an actual case shall arise. It is probable the Department will not, under any circumstances, encourage the strikers to the extent of recognizing their right to carry the mails on trains forcibly taken from the railroad companies."

At most points in the country the mails were moving with reasonable freedom. At Pittsburgh the Postmaster telegraphed: "All mails are forwarded via here, with delay of only twelve hours, caused by transfer.' Have received despatch saying that all mail trains departed from Cincinnati on time; on the Ohio and Mississippi with only an engine and postal cars. In Indianapolis matters were by no means so favorable, and Postmaster Holloway telegraphed: "Strikers now say that they will only allow one passenger train each way, but will let mail run on any train. I do not think roads will run unless they can take passengers. There is great indignation at the failure to lift the blockade. Our Mayor is too weak, and our Governor will do nothing. He is believed to sympathize with the strikers." Some political feeling doubtless suggested the remark in regard to Governor

Williams. The situation at St. Louis appeared to have somewhat improved. Superintendent Hunt telegraphed from there: "Mails are running regularly upon all the roads in this division, and upon all roads out of St. Louis except Chicago and St. Louis, Evansville and St. Louis, Quincy and St. Louis, and Rock Island and St. Louis."

By the 29th and 30th of July, the situation had greatly improved. At the National Capital popular interest in the railway strike seemed to have subsided entirely, and the officers of the Government, whose duty it had been to respond to the numerous calls for assistance or advice, received from the disturbed districts, were allowed to spend two very quiet days. Reports received by the Administration were of the most reassuring character. No trouble had been announced on the Baltimore and Ohio Road calling for any action on the part of the Federal military. As a precaution, a force of one hundred and fifty marines was marched to the Baltimore and Ohio depot, in Washington, and held there until late in the evening of the 29th, in order that it might be ready for immediate departure to any point of difficulty, in case any resistance should be made to the starting of freight trains, which was to be attempted, but the force was not required. The loss of perishable freight on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was reported by gentlemen who arrived from Cumberland, as much greater than had been supposed. The Cabinet was in session about an hour. Saturday the 28th, various telegrams were read in regard to the troubles received by the Secretary of War, all of which showed a decided improvement in the condition of affairs.

Two companies of marines from the headquarters of

the corps commanded by Captain Bishop, joined those at the Washington Arsenal on Friday, and Saturday a battalion under Captain James Forney reported at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad station, by order of General Schofield, to assist in moving freight trains on the road. Considerable guard duty was being done by the marines. A battalion under Colonel Charles Heywood was guarding the Pennsylvania Railroad in West Philadelphia, and a third battalion was at the Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, New York. One company was held in reserve at the headquarters at Washington and others were at Brooklyn, Boston, and League Island Barracks. Norfolk Navy Yard and the ships of the North Atlantic Squadron had been stripped of marines on account of the labor strikes. Several officers who were at home enjoying their usual summer-leave surrendered it voluntarily and joined their battalions.

The company which marched to the Baltimore and Ohio station on the 28th stacked arms after getting there, and remained in readiness to leave for Baltimore at a moment's notice, if necessary, until late in the afternoon despatches were then received, saying that trains were moving without trouble, and the marines returned to their quarters. General Barry reported that during the departure of trains from Baltimore large crowds were present, and some little demonstrations were made, but no disturbance took place. He had five hundred men present, with two field pieces in position.

CHAPTER XV.

AFFAIRS IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Call for Troops—Gathering the Militia—Anxious Days—Governor Hartranft and Mayor Stokely—A Street Riot—Dispersing a Meeting—Colonel Thomas A. Scott and the Locomotive Engineers—Philadelphia a Nicer Place than Pittsburgh.

The call for the militia to go to Pittsburgh created the first ripple of excitement in the metropolis of Pennsylvania. There were a number of largely attended meetings held, but these did not serve to create any very serious apprehensions in the public mind. Meanwhile the strikes taking place all over the country became the topic of conversation, and within a few days the country was in a feverish state of mind. Philadelphia shared in all this. The large number of railroad men in the city, their evident sympathy with the strikers, the doubt as to what direction the movement might take, conspired to arouse the citizens of Philadelphia to a realizing sense of the magnitude of the dangers which threatened their city no less than the entire Union. In Philadelphia, as elsewhere, the Commune began to raise its Gorgon head to the terror of all law-abiding citizens. There were tumultuous gatherings and one or two lives lost and many persons wounded before the difficulty was ended in Philadelphia.

During the evening of July 23d, over three thousand people assembled around the Pennsylvania Railroad

depot, where Colonel Thomas A. Scott, Mayor Stokely, and a number of railroad officials were in consultation. On the arrival of a train, or the occurrence of the slightest incident which could furnish a pretence for excitement, the crowd would rush across the open space in front of the depot, and throng the waiting room almost to suffocation. The saloons in the vicinity did a thriving business, and a number of drunken men were in the street.

At five o'clock the crowd in the depot had increased to such an extent that the Mayor and Chief of Police were obliged to call out the reserve police, and clear the place of all idlers. The Mayor also drove around the neighborhood of the depot, dispersing the crowds that were gathering on the street corners and in vacant lots.

The Mayor declared he would not put a musket into the hands of his police until an actual necessity should arise for his so doing. At the depot, Colonel Thomas A. Scott received a despatch concerning the Governor of Pennsylvania, as follows:

"Governor Hartranft is *en route* for Pennsylvania, and has telegraphed ahead, ordering out every militia regiment in the State. He has also telegraphed to the President of the United States, calling for troops, and suggesting the propriety of a call for volunteers."

The Mayor issued the following proclamation :

MAYOR'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA, July 22.

To all whom it may concern :

Whereas, Violence, tumult, and riot exist in various portions of this commonwealth, to the great injury of domestic industry and trade, and to the discredit of American institutions and form of government, the per-

fection of which was last year celebrated in this city of the Republic's birth ; and

Whereas, It is of the highest importance that the great name which Philadelphia has made for herself among the nations of the earth during the centennial year shall be spared the horrible scenes enacted in our sister cities,

Now, therefore, I, William S. Stokely, in the name of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, do appeal to all citizens of every occupation and calling to render it unnecessary that in the performance of my duty I should be called upon to suppress any outbreak and violence, which I assuredly will do if the occasion requires it, and hand over the offenders to condign punishment ; and I make this appeal in the firm belief that the citizens of Philadelphia appreciate, as I do, the importance of maintaining peace and good will among all classes of society, and I hereby pledge myself to give a patient hearing and impartial justice, as I best know how, to all persons who desire it. Let all the people resume and continue their lawful occupations, and avoid assembling and organizing together for discussion or otherwise at the present time. This is the surest and best means of preserving the honor and fair name of the City of Brotherly Love.

(Signed)

WM. S. STOKELY, Mayor.

At the Pennsylvania depot on Saturday, a colored regiment presented itself for transportation to Baltimore. After occupying a number of cars with the troops, the hour arrived for the departure of the train. The engineer refused to move the train. Mr. Lockhart, who was in charge of the train, tried to persuade him, but in

vain. He said he would take any number of white men, but the company was foolish to attempt to forward negroes, who would certainly be killed on sight in Baltimore, and he did not propose to be killed with them. Mr. Lockhart unloaded the colored troops.

In the Pennsylvania Railroad yard at West Philadelphia, Monday evening, while one of the shifting engines was preparing to move an oil car, the engineer was compelled by a crowd of unknown men to detach his engine, and allow the cars to remain. This was the first indication of any interference with the Railroad Company at Philadelphia.

At a little after midnight, July 24th, 1877, about four hundred troops of the regular army from Washington, arrived at the West Philadelphia depot, half of whom were immediately posted on the railroad company's grounds, in the vicinity of the roundhouse, while the remainder were taken to the City Armory at Broad and Race streets. The men were all provided with blankets, haversacks, and canteens, and were prepared for any service, however long or arduous. The detachment was what was known as the Tenth Regiment of Artillery, Colonel Franks commanding.

When the troops arrived and marched out of the depot there was a general gathering of officials and citizens, all of whom manifested a feeling of relief and security. From an early hour in the morning until midnight their arrival was eagerly looked for, and when they made their appearance the universal sentiment was that no demonstration could possibly be made by the strikers that would not be immediately put down.

Peace reigned supreme, and no disturbance occurred

that night. Such a strong force of policemen, marines, and soldiers were on duty that it seemed hardly possible for the strikers to attempt the commission of any outrage. The utmost vigilance was exercised by all the officials, both day and night, and every night after the commencement of the troubles, Colonel Thomas A. Scott slept at the depot. Mayor Stokely was present at the depot, closely watching every movement, and issuing orders for any emergency that might arise. A number of the regulars were conducted to the old stock-yards at Belmont and Lancaster avenues, where they encamped.

At a meeting of the Philadelphia Commercial Exchange, on the 25th of July, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted :

Whereas, The true interests of the country and the welfare of its citizens depend wholly upon their respect for and obedience to the laws ; and

Whereas, There are large mobs assembled in various places who have been, and are now engaged, in disregard of the same, in destroying both life and property, on the security of both of which all labor necessarily depends ; and

Whereas, These mobs have obtained such control of the avenues of transportation as to suspend the operating of the same, therefore restricting our commerce, and leaving our steamers laying idle at our wharves, to the very serious prejudice, not only to ourselves as merchants, and to our correspondents, but also to our respective employes, by depriving them of the necessary labor by which they earn their livelihood ; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to use such force by the increase of the mili-

tary forces of the nation, if necessary, not only to suppress all unlawful violence, but also to secure protection against any recurrence of the same.

Resolved, That the earnest thanks of this association be tendered to the President of the United States for what he has done.

Similar resolutions were also adopted by the Maritime Exchange and Board of Trade.

One of the saddest incidents of the strike was witnessed at Philadelphia on the 25th, upon the arrival at the depot of four dead bodies of soldiers, of the First Militia Regiment, killed in Pittsburgh. Among the four was the body of Lieutenant J. Dorsey Ash, of the Keystone Battery. When the train stopped, there stepped from one of the rear cars a lady, with bowed head and grief-stricken face, supported by a gentleman, who conducted her tenderly through the depot to a carriage standing at the entrance. That lady was the widow of Lieutenant Ash.

The Philadelphia police, in breaking up a meeting at the corner of Berks and South streets, on the night of the 26th, were stoned by a crowd of about twenty-five hundred men, and had several shots fired at them. A desperate fight ensued, and the police say that they fired in the air; but when the affair was over, the body of a boy, about seventeen years old, was found dead, with a bullet in his head. Several of the police were injured by flying missiles.

Governor Hartranft, and his entire staff, started from the West Philadelphia Station at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, bound West. Orders had been previously issued for the assembling of all the militia re-

maining in Philadelphia, at the armory, at the corner of Broad and Race streets, at one P. M., to proceed to West Philadelphia, and on the same train with the Governor, detachments of the Keystone Battery, State Fencibles, and the Second, First and Sixth Regiments, took passage for the vicinity of Pittsburgh. The authorities were reticent about the movements of the military, but every one knew they were destined for Blairsville, where the main body of the State troops were stationed.

The Eleventh Regiment, made up of men from Chester, Westchester, Media and other points in that vicinity, joined the detachments from Philadelphia at Paoli. Batteries K and M of the Second Artillery, and Battery I of the Fourth, with Companies of Engineers from Baltimore, arrived at the Philadelphia station, and also proceeded up the road. There was no excitement or stir about the station, and trains to New York were running regularly.

A telegram was received on the 27th, by General Selfridge from Governor Hartranft stating that the latter would accept a regiment of the Grand Army of the Republic men at once. The different posts were organizing companies, and the regimental organization was afterwards effected. The command was fully one thousand men, all veterans.

Feeling that the city was sufficiently protected by regular troops, General Brannan, by direction of General Hancock, forwarded orders to the commander of a body of soldiers, expected at Philadelphia from Niagara, to stop at New York, to be on hand in case of any uprising in that city.

Before leaving Philadelphia, the evening of the 26th,

Governor Hartranft issued the following order to the National Guards of that State :

1. During the existing emergency, in all cases, troops are to be moved in compact bodies, and under no circumstances is firing to be permitted except by order of the officer in immediate command.

2. All other means of quelling riot and restoring order having first been exhausted, the officer commanding troops shall notify rioters that they will be fired upon unless they disperse. The order to fire will then be deliberately given, and every soldier will be expected to fire with effect. Firing will continue until the mob disappears.

3. Officers in command of troops will report to their headquarters the names of all citizens who have attempted or may attempt to dissuade members of the National Guard from the discharge of their duty. All such persons should be arrested if possible.

4. Headquarters after two o'clock, P. M., to-day, will be in a special car on the Pennsylvania Railroad. All communications will be addressed accordingly.

5. General officers will publish these orders, not only to their troops, but to the public generally.

[Signed],

J. F. HARTRANFT,

Governor.

Commander-in-Chief National Guards of Penn.

Colonel Thomas A. Scott having been taunted for his failure to go to Pittsburgh to stay the strike, thereby preventing bloodshed and destruction, Mr. P. M. Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, being his tormentor, he paused in his duty of watching

movements on the great highway which he controls, to answer the innuendoes of the Locomotive Engineer, Arthur.

He wrote from Philadelphia as follows to the New York *Herald* newspaper, on the 25th of July :

“I see an account of an interview had with P. M. Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in which he states that ‘if Thomas A. Scott had gone himself to Pittsburgh, bloodshed and riot would have been averted. Whenever the officers of a road have met the Brotherhood and have evinced a disposition to treat with us, we have had no strike ; it is only whenever they have refused to arbitrate with us that we have had a strike as the only means of redress.’

“In response to this permit me to say that this whole statement is most unfair to me and to the Company. The first intimation of this strike was given me after I had retired for the night at a point on the Delaware river, twenty miles from Philadelphia, and the strike was inaugurated without any attempt to have a conference with the officers of the Company. So much was this the case that the Superintendent of the Pittsburgh division had started East with his family, and was on his way east of Altoona, when the strike took place, and the trains of the Company were stopped. He immediately came to the office in West Philadelphia about midnight, and there found that the Mayor of Pittsburgh and the Sheriff of the county were endeavoring to restore law and order. They had found themselves unable to do so, and were forced to make an appeal to the Governor for military aid. At all times, and under all circumstances, when the men in the service of our Company have come

to meet the officers of the road for conference they have been promptly and courteously met.

“It is not more than a month since a large delegation of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had a conference with me at the office in this city, where everything pertaining to the question of reduction was fully discussed, the result of which was that the men, representing, as they stated to me, the engineers and firemen, addressed me a letter stating that the reason given for the reduction, caused by the great depression of the business of the country, was entirely satisfactory to them, and that they would stand thoroughly and firmly by the Company. Neither this Company nor its officers are in any way responsible for the combinations that have been made against the leading business interests of the country, which have resulted in strikes, riots and destruction to life and property, and the entire suspension of all the material interests of the country by taking possession of the trunk lines of railway and preventing the movement of persons and property. It is certainly well developed now that not five per cent. of the men engaged in these strikes and combinations have ever had anything to do with the railway service of this Company, including the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who will continue to stand firmly by the Company and by the best interests of the country, without regard to the influences brought to bear upon them from any source.

“THOMAS A. SCOTT.”

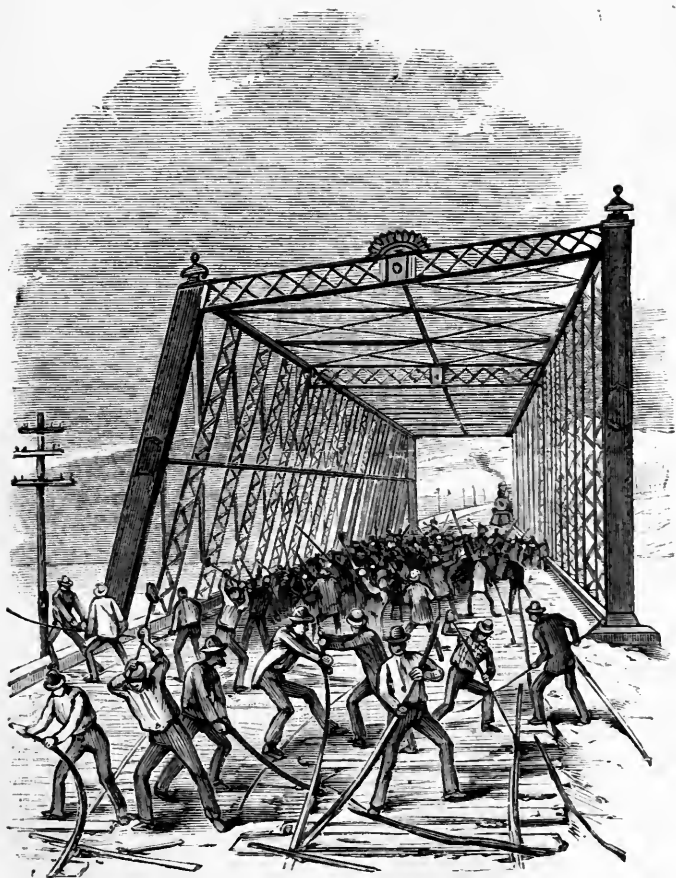
CHAPTER XVI.

THE STRIKE ON THE ERIE RAILROAD.

The Strike at Hornellsville—The Road Completely Blockaded at that Point—The Demand of the Strikers—Action of the Officers of the Road—The Situation at the Home Office, New York—Apprehensions of Further Complications.

The strikes were extending rapidly all over the country. The railroads in Maryland, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, New York and New Jersey were all liable to be blockaded at almost any moment by the action of the employes.

The situation on the Erie road was far from reassuring as early as the 17th. The next day, the difficulty commenced, the firemen and brakemen of the Western Division of the Erie Railway decided to strike at one o'clock the morning of the 20th. At Hornellsville, the night express leaving there at midnight, was the last train permitted to pass. All trains, both ways, were stopped at Hornellsville. The train due in New York at eight p. m., left Buffalo, via the Rochester division, that morning, but went no further than Corning. A train was made up at Elmira to run on the regular time to New York. No intimation that there would be a strike was had until the action of the men was made known. Railroad communication was cut off, only telegraphic communication being had with the place up to a late hour Saturday. About four hundred men were in the strike.



RIOTERS TEARING UP RAILS AT THE BRIDGE.

They demanded that the pay of the firemen be increased to the amount received before the late reduction; that brakemen and switchmen receive \$2.00 and head switchmen \$2.25 a day; that \$1.50 be the wages of yard trackmen, and \$1.40 for section trackmen; that monthly passes be given firemen and brakemen, and passes be issued to switchmen and trackmen, and that the Company give a free lease of all property occupied by trackmen, a large majority of employes of that class being squatters on Erie land. These demands the Company emphatically rejected.

By prompt action the Erie officials struck a severe blow against the strikers. As soon as the news of the strike was received they ordered all trains bound for Hornellsville to stop. Passenger trains were sent over other divisions, and freight trains were held all along the line. This kept hundreds of men, ready to act with the strikers, away from Hornellsville. These men resorted to various means to get there, some seizing hand-cars and thus reaching that point. A fireman, named Pratt, risked his own, with the lives of hundreds of passengers by seizing a locomotive at Andover, twenty miles west, and running it in the face of advancing trains between that place and Scio, picking up men to run them into Hornellsville. The peril of the undertaking led to its abandonment, although Pratt was anxious to carry out the plan. A train arrived at ten P. M., having been stopped at Olean by the Company, thus preventing an army of sympathizers from joining the strikers. The train went no further. The train that left New York at 9:15 Saturday, arrived at Hornellsville the same evening. General Superintendent Bowen, and O. Chanute, his as-

sistant, went up with it. Its westward passengers were transferred at Corning to the Rochester division. The train went to the yard and no attempt was made to move it further. The strikers were on guard in large force.

J. S. Beggs, Superintendent of the Western Division, started for Dunkirk to proceed to Hornellsville Saturday morning. At Salamanca he found the men had struck. They cut the locomotive loose from the train, but finally allowed the Superintendent to proceed. He was stopped again at Andover, when the train was boarded by a crowd of boisterous sympathizers with the strikers, but was permitted to go on its way after some delay. The Sheriff of the county, with a number of deputies, proceeded to Hornellsville with the intention of arresting the principal leaders.

Passengers who left Buffalo Saturday evening for New York on the Erie, narrowly escaped detention by the strikers at Hornellsville. The train was within a few miles of that station when the conductor was notified by telegraph of the situation, and ordered to return to Attica with the train. The train was sent over the Attica branch to Avon and thence over the Rochester division to Corning where it was held until the afternoon of the 20th, when it started for New York to make the stops of local trains held at Hornellsville. General Superintendent of Transportation Wright, and Division Superintendent Cable, were at this time in Hornellsville. General Superintendent Bowen was on his way to that point. There were fears in Elmira that the strike would extend to the divisions east of that place. The demonstration at Hornellsville was not crushed. Traffic was

entirely suspended west of Hornellsville, and the yards of every station were filled with freight, stock and other trains.

All passenger and freight trains on the Erie Railroad, except on the Falls branch, had been abandoned. Tickets issued by that road were honored by the New York Central, and tickets issued by the Erie road over the Atlantic and Great Western were honored by the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern and the Buffalo and Jamestown road. Orders were sent to Buffalo to the Erie Railway shipping office to take no stock for shipment East on account of a railway strike in the vicinity of Hornellsville.

It was late Thursday night when the officials of the road at the New York headquarters, received information that a riot was in contemplation by the firemen and brakemen of one of the Western divisions of the road, but nothing definite as to the extent of the demonstration, or the demands of the strikers was reported, and business was resumed Friday morning as usual. The regular evening express from Buffalo, left that city at 9:45 Thursday, and ran to Hornellsville, ninety-one miles distant, on regular time. Hornellsville is the point at which the Buffalo division ends, and the Susquehanna division begins, and there the engineers, firemen, and other train hands "lay off," and are replaced by another team, who take the train to the end of the division in Susquehanna, and are in turn relieved. The engineer was on hand Friday morning to take the regular train to Susquehanna, but the fireman and brakemen refused to work, and the train was kept standing on the track. The switchmen and trackmen joined the strike, and the business of the road was at a complete standstill throughout

the entire length of the division—one hundred and thirty miles.

After four hours' delay the train was allowed to pass. The express and mail train was also stopped, but was held only forty minutes. The first reached New York three hours, and the second seventeen minutes late.

The express which left New York on Thursday night, proceeded as far as Corning, and was there tied up by the strikers, but the passengers were brought back to Elmira, and were sent over the Northern Central Road to Canandaigua, and thence by the New York Central to Buffalo.

By the policy adopted by the strikers, trains were permitted to run both ways as far as Hornellsville, but none were suffered to return either way, and in the course of the day some seven hundred freight cars were blockaded there, the strikers taking out the coupling-pins and throwing them away, as soon as a train arrived. Two or three passenger trains were run into the town by order of the railroad officials, for the purpose of demonstrating the fact that they could not get through, but most of the passengers were sent by the Central Road, by which Erie through tickets were received. After the extent of the strike was known in the Chambers street office, in New York, orders were telegraphed the agents of the road to suspend the sale of through tickets until further notice.

The officers of the Erie Railway, with Mr. Jewett, the receiver, included, appear to have made a mistake in regard to the nature of the strike at Hornellsville. They believed that the strike there was a part of the demonstration inaugurated at Martinsburg, and continued at Pittsburgh. It was supposed that all three were ordered

by the supreme authority in the organization of brakemen and firemen, to which nearly all the employes on all the great lines in the United States belong, and it was feared that the strike would spread all along the line from Omaha to New York, and that the Western and Southern roads would share the same fate. The facts that the Hornellsville strike was begun without due notice, that the grounds of the strike were not presented to the Company until late in the afternoon, and when presented, proved to be the old issues that were settled three weeks before, strengthened this belief.

In the Company's yards in Communi-paw, the men professed entire ignorance of the affair. They declared that they did not know the causes which led to the strike, and pretended that the organization to which the strikers belong had no existence east of Port Jervis.

These men were in all probability right. The officers were evidently wrong. If the strike at Hornellsville had been the part of a great movement among railroad men all over the country, it is not probable that the disturbance on the Erie Railroad would have been confined to the Western division. Simultaneously with the movement at Hornellsville, the firemen, brakemen, and switchmen at Salamanca, on the Western division, quit work, and when Mr. Beggs, the Superintendent of that division, who had started out from Dunkirk for Hornellsville, arrived at Salamanca, his engine was cut loose from the train and put into the engine-house, and the strikers notified him that no engine or train would be permitted to pass Salamanca.

It was claimed by the officers of the Company that when a committee of the train men visited New York,

late in June, in relation to the reduction of July 1st, they were kindly received by Receiver Jewett, and the necessity and propriety of the reduction explained to them, which, after a few days' deliberation, they apparently accepted, and the men continued at their posts, with the exception of the known promoters of the discontent, who were discharged.

It was also claimed that all classes of men on the Erie Railway had been treated by the Company with consideration. Their pay was not only reasonable but liberal for the times, and if there were any employes expressing dissatisfaction, the receiver was ready to pay them off promptly and hire other men to take their places, and expressed his determination to carry out the order of July 1st to the letter.

But the strike had assumed formidable proportions. There can be no doubt that a riot existed at Hornellsville, and that the rioters had things for a time pretty much in their own hands. They had assembled in force sufficient to control the railroad communications at Hornellsville, and trains were not allowed to pass either east or west. There are two lines between Hornellsville and Buffalo, one, the main line, and the other a branch line between Hornellsville and Corning. At Corning the branch line connects with the Rochester and Buffalo division. So far the strikers had not interfered with the movement of trains on the branch line, but they could have cut off communication at any moment. Practically as far as the traffic on the road was considered, intercourse was cut off between New York City and Buffalo. Only a small portion of the business of the road could be conducted over the branch line in any event, and in the

present case it might as well be left out of consideration entirely. If the strikers considered it important to do so, they could undoubtedly have blockaded the trains on that line also.

A Brakeman named Donahue was understood to be the chief instigator of the movement. Donahue was discharged a few weeks before from the service of the Company, and he had been going about secretly since to stir up the brakemen to make a strike. He is the brother of the President of the Brakemans' Association, and is a man of considerable influence. By his agency and the assistance of his brother the strike was no doubt organized. It was the opinion of Receiver Jewett that Mr. Arthur, the President of the Engineers' Protective Union, had taken an influential part in organizing this as well as the strikes on other lines. He had not been in the neighborhood, but the movement had been probably guided to some extent by his directions. The engineers were not inclined to unite in the movement, at least directly. The only support they would give it would be by objecting to the new brakemen and firemen taken on in the place of the strikers, on the ground of inexperience, but they would not strike themselves.

Already an informal application had been made by the officers of this road to Governor Robinson of New York for protection.

During the morning of the 21st an effort was made by the Erie officials at Hornellsville to start a train East, carrying a mail car. The strikers on guard would not permit anything to leave the yard but the mail car. They also prevented any one getting aboard but the mail

agents and an insane woman, who was being taken to Elmira. Everything was quiet after that till a later hour in the day. Then the Pacific express, which left New York the previous evening, arrived with a mail car and a passenger car. The sleeping coaches and westward-bound passengers were sent over the Rochester division at Corning.

The strikers took possession of the trains, the passengers had to get out, and when the baggage was unloaded the cars were pushed to a siding by the strikers. The mail car was permitted to start, the men first placing a fireman and brakeman of their own on the engine and car. An effort was made by the Company to attach the postal car to the passenger coaches at the lower end of the yard. The strikers suspected a move of this kind, and two hundred rushed to that part of the yard and took possession of the switch. The effort was thus defeated, and the engine and postal car were left on the side track.

The Erie officials refused to recognize any of the committees of the men, and issued orders forbidding B. J. Donahue, chairman of the Brakemen, Switchman and Trackmen's Committees of the Buffalo, Western and Susquehanna division, and leader of the strike, from coming on the grounds. He established headquarters in the Titusville House near by, and directed the operations of the men. The great grievance the men complained of, was that the Company broke faith with them in discharging from its employ members of the Grievance Committees sent to New York in the matter of the reduction of July 1st, after agreeing not to do so if the men accepted the reduction. General Superintendent Bowen positively

denied that there ever was such an agreement made in the first place, and insisted that no man had been discharged in consequence of his having been on a committee, the Company having approved of the men waiting upon the manager by representatives to state any grievance they might have. The men discharged were dismissed for absenting themselves from their posts without leave, and for violating the discipline of the Company. Donahue declared that the firemen struck because they were pledged to the brakemen, and that the engineers were pledged to them, too, but did not strike. Representative engineers denied that their body ever made any pledges to the brakemen.

The proclamation and orders of Governor Robinson, had called out a very large force of the New York National Guards. The Erie Company knew of their movements, the fact become known at Hornellsville, the afternoon of the 21st, that the receiver had appealed to the state authorities for military assistance, and the men held a secret meeting. They believed that no militia could be brought to that place, a majority of whom would not be in sympathy with their movement. It was not generally known at what time the militia ordered then would arrive, but the Company was kept informed of their progress. The Fifty-fourth Regiment New York State Militia, Colonel G. E. Baker commanding, left Rochester in the morning, and marched four hundred strong, arriving at Hornellsville during the evening. The approach of the train was so quiet that few of the strikers were at the depot, but in a brief time the yard was blocked with men shouting and deriding the soldiers. Immediately after the arrival of the train another

came in from Elmira with two hundred men from the One Hundred and Tenth Regiment, Colonel Smith commanding, and Battery A of the Twentieth Brigade, Captain Walker. Great excitement prevailed. The men affected to treat the matter as a joke and loudly ridiculed the idea of the movement being suppressed by a few soldiers with empty guns. The Elmira troops were formed in line and marched through the yard, driving out all with whom they came in contact. The Rochester troops were subsequently formed, and lines were placed all about the Company's yards. Every approach was guarded. No one could enter without a countersign. The battery of two guns was planted in Loder street, and commanded the yard and surroundings. The excitement was intense. No attempt was made by the Company to move trains.

The strikers held meetings and unanimously resolved to resist the Company even in the face of the bayonet. They were in receipt of telegrams from Elmira, Susquehanna, Port Jervis, Corning and other places calling on them to be firm, and saying that meetings were being held that would result in the men in these places joining in the strike. The leaders in the movement threatened a bloody time next day.

B. J. Donahue, the leader of the strike, warned all engineers against going out with trains, as they would go at their own peril, the track having been "fixed" by the strikers. In spite of the guards, the strikers had disabled all the switch engines in the yard. Two demonstrative strikers were arrested and quickly rescued by their friends. There was great familiarity between the militia and the strikers. General Brinkerhoff and W.W.

MacFarland, counsel of the Erie, arrived from New York in a special train. They held a consultation with D. C. Robinson, the Governor's Private Secretary, to which they were escorted by a guard of soldiers.

All was quiet at Port Jervis. There was considerable excitement among the employes of the Erie road, but nothing to indicate that a strike would occur on the Eastern or Delaware division. All trains on these divisions were moving regularly, no stoppages occurring on that side of Hornellsville.

A second special train, in charge of General Wylie, with ammunition and camp equipage arrived before morning.

Three reasons existed why Hornellsville should have been selected as the scene of the origin of the strike: First, it is the most important junction on the road; second, it is far from the large cities where unemployed labor is plenty and the municipal authorities are strong, and third, it is filled with bad and dangerous men. It is purely a railroad town, although it contains some seven thousand inhabitants, and a considerable amount of business is done there. It is the termini of three divisions of the road—the Susquehanna, Buffalo and Western—and consequently there have congregated and settled there a large number of the worst class of men, those who have been employed on railroads—chiefly the Erie—in various capacities, and discharged for many causes. They comprised the best possible material for strikes, riots and violence of all kinds, partly because of their natural predilection to disorder, partly from motives of revenge for their dismissal, and partly to get the men employed discharged, so as to make room for

themselves, the Company had evidence that some men, not connected with the road, were secretly inciting train-hands to strike in the expectation that the Company would be forced to reinstate them in the positions from which they were formerly dismissed.

But two cases of violence on the road had yet occurred. Some Buffalo fireman stole a locomotive and ran out to the junction of the Falls branch at East Buffalo, with the intention of blockading the trains arriving from Utica, but a squad of police was sent out from Buffalo and the firemen were quickly dispersed. The other case occurred at Hornellsville, where General Superintendent Bowen made a personal attempt to take out a mail train, but was stopped by the strikers.

CHAPTER XVII.

RECKLESS SLAUGHTER AT READING.

The Fourth Pennsylvania Militia at Reading—General Frank Reeder Undertakes to Restore Order—Bold Rioters Tantalize the Citizen soldiery—Without Orders They Fire into a Crowd of Peaceable Citizens—Thirteen Killed and Twenty-seven Wounded—Not a Rioter Hurt—A Boy Horribly Mangled—Five Police Officers Victims of the Bullets—A Lady Shot While Engaged at Her Sewing Machine—Terrible Anger of the Citizens and Rioters—Threats of the Mob—General Reeder's Sworn Statement.

Baltimore and Pittsburgh had not been forgotten. The great strikes continued. There was still in the minds of men disquieting thoughts. When would the troubles end? How would the difficulty conclude? What was to be the result of all the turmoil, the bitterness, the hate aroused? These were questions present in the minds of men, and for them there were no answers. Nearly a hundred lives had already been extinguished, five times a hundred human beings had been maimed and mangled since the strikes began. Property worth millions of dollars had vanished amid smoke and flames. The country was in a feverish state of excitement from Boston to San Francisco; from the Lakes to the Gulf. Men lived, thought, and acted more in a day, than they ordinarily do in a week. Since the first European landed on the shores of America, no such scenes as those transpiring had ever before arrested the attention of the whole people of the country. It was a

time of fear and anxiety. Who would be the next victim, what city next be given over to devouring flames, and the rapacity of a lawless mob? Who could tell?

It was on the 23d day of July, 1877—just seven days after the commencement of the first strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at South Baltimore and Martinsburg. Already momentous events had happened. Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Cumberland had successively attracted the attention of those who cared to observe the course of the remarkable movement among the working classes. Hornellsville, Harrisburgh, Phillipsburg, and Buffalo had been the scene of actions, startling in their nature. Where would the next center of interest be located? It was not necessary to wait long for an answer to this question. For some days there had been trouble on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and among the miners in that vicinity. Reading was favorably situated to become the central point of the movement in that region.

At this time Pennsylvania was in arms, from the Delaware to the Monongehela. There were many militia officers who were anxious to immortalize themselves by the performance of some heroic action. The Knight of La Mancha has imitators in this age, and in this land. Up to the 22nd, no trouble had occurred at Reading. There were some men on a strike, and trains had been stopped, but the crowds that gathered about the stations, were citizens drawn to those places to satisfy an idle curiosity.

But the scene was destined to change. There was in that division of Pennsylvania a notable military commander, Major-General William J. Bolton, who com-

manded the Second Division of the National Guards of Pennsylvania. To this puissant warrior the railroad authorities appealed, and he sent one of his trusted Lieutenants, Brigadier-General Frank Reeder, to Reading, with the Fourth and Sixteenth Regiments. These warriors, even, according to the sworn statement of their commander, succeeded in making for themselves an odious record ere they left Reading—at least, may this be said of the Fourth Regiment, and particularly of the “Easton Greys.” Reading mourns the folly of the militia yet.

On account of the unmilitary conduct of some companies of General Reeder’s regiment, we are compelled to add another story of slaughter to the bloody records of Baltimore and Pittsburgh. Without one word of warning, these militia fired upon an assembled crowd of citizens, in the very heart of the city of Reading, and killed thirteen people, shot five policemen, and altogether severely wounded twenty-seven persons.

Night had just settled upon the city, and North Seventh street, for two squares, was lined with people, sitting in the enjoyment of the cool air of evening, in front of their homes. The main line of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company’s road passes through the city on Seventh street. Penn street is the main thoroughfare, running in an opposite direction from the course of the railroad, and crosses Seventh street at right angles. From Penn street northward for two squares, two lines of track are laid, leading to the new depot. These are laid through a deep cut, with a heavy stone wall, twenty feet high on either side. On this section of track the bloody work was done. At ten minutes

after eight o'clock the military marched in toward Penn street, through the cut, from the depot. They were about three hundred and fifty strong, and they marched, to the tap of a few drums that could not be heard a square away. Few people were aware of their arrival in the city, and fewer still knew they were advancing upon the crowd.

Steadily they approached, when suddenly three hundred rifles were discharged in volleys, and five men dropped to the pavements. The report that the troops had shot blank cartridges, of course, was incorrect. When the troops fired their first volleys, they were given broadsides of rocks and stones from the tops of the walls. Quite a number of revolver shots were returned by parties in the crowd. The troops continued their firing, and men, women and children fled in fear. They had assembled on Seventh street to look at the train that had been stopped, and they were recklessly and indiscriminately shot by the militia. The citizens were almost universal in their condemnation of these proceedings. In five minutes the streets were cleared, stores were closed, and hotels and restaurants were locked up. Business had been proceeding as usual, and just before the firing, not a single merchant, or business man was aware of the coming of the military. The streets resembled a small battle field, and the pavements were stained with many pools of blood. It was absolutely dangerous for men to come from the alleyways and from behind the brick walls, to go to the assistance of the dying. The heroic militia stood to their guns, and were valiantly disposed to shoot down any citizen who might cross the line of their vision. Finally the sufferers, groaning and shrieking for water,





THE SCENE AFTER THE FIRST VOLLEY.

were carried to the drug stores to have their wounds dressed.

Among the policemen who were on duty at Seventh and Penn streets, keeping the pavements and sidewalks clear, five were shot down, as follows: Officer Abner Jones, shot through the back, the ball penetrating through his body; officer Ludwig Rupp, shot twice through the right leg; officer Orden Weller, shot in the leg; officer Hart, shot through the thigh; officer Haggerty, shot through the ankle.

These policemen were shot with rifle balls. They received no word, of whatever kind, warning them of what was to happen. Officer Rupp, one of the best men in the force, was dangerously hurt and died of his wounds two days afterwards. The officers had their wounds dressed at the drug stores and were taken home.

Chief of Police, Peter Cullen, who was on duty near Seventh and Penn streets, had a rifle ball penetrate his coat, and officer Werdner also had his coat ripped with a ball.

Officer Culp narrowly escaped death, a minnie ball whistling past his head, just grazing his ear.

But two of the military were badly hurt, so far as was reported.

Private Stienberger, of the Allen Rifles, of Allentown, was shot in the left side of the neck.

Private Slatington, of Company F, was struck in the abdomen by a brick or rock. Both of these men were conveyed to one of the rear apartments of the Mansion House, where their wounds were attended to.

Several more of the military were struck with stones, but not seriously hurt. After the firing was over the

soldiers formed along Penn street, with their left resting on Seventh, and subsequently they marched to Penn Square, and from there proceeded to the depot of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, which was strongly garrisoned. That evening a large number of special police was sworn in and ordered on duty, armed with seven-shooters, and the depot was transformed into a military post. Pickets were out and sentinels were guarding all the train galleries and entrances. On their march through the streets the militia were followed but by few persons, who jeered and shouted in an unpleasant manner.

That night the railroadmen, who were at war with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, were engaged in taking counsel as to future movements. Meanwhile all the tramps from a wide range of country had come into the city on the first intimation of trouble. On the night of the 24th, it is supposed they burned down the Lebanon Valley Bridge, which spanned the Schuylkill at Reading, and which was built at a cost of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Reading's direct railway communication with Harrisburg and the West was thus cut off, freight cars were burned and tracks interfered with. The 24th of July was one of the most trying periods known in the annals of railroading in Pennsylvania. All day long Reading was in a state of wild riot and disorder.

There were three alarms the night after the fight, and each time the Fourth Regiment formed under arms. The rioters contented themselves with tearing up part of the track below Penn street, cutting down a long line of railroad telegraph poles, and robbing freight cars. Six

men, identified as rioters, got into the depot. They were put under arrest; three of them were storekeepers in Reading. All were heavily armed and very audacious.

Before daylight on the morning of the 23d, a locomotive glided into the depot at Reading. She brought from Auburn six thousand rounds of ball cartridges. At six o'clock in the morning, five companies of the Sixteenth Regiment arrived at the break in the track below the city and were marched up to the depot. They were under Colonel Scholl. These militia-men declared they would not fire on the rioters, and the crowd cheered them. Some of these men said, "We will not shoot workingmen, whatever the Easton Greys may do. They are our brothers, and the only one we'd like to pour our bullets into is that damned Frank B. Gowen." Mr. Gowen is Superintendent of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. The officers denied that their men used this language, but hundreds of persons in the crowds heard the expressions. At eight o'clock a number of police who had been wounded were started on a slow local train to get to Allentown and Easton. Some were very seriously hurt, one mortally.

At half-past eight, the two regiments, marching by the flank, with General Reeder at their head, started out of the depot and towards the cut where the conflict of the preceding night took place. The Sixteenth Regiment had the right, and as it was recognized, the crowd cheered it, when the Easton Greys and other companies of the Fourth Regiment came along the air was rent with yells of "Give 'em hell," "Go for 'em," etc. Instead of repeating the last night's error in going down the cut they marched in the streets, above and along side it, a

movement which disconcerted the riotous crowd, nevertheless a brisk flight of stones was kept up by the mob upon the Fourth Regiment. The Easton Greys suffered most, having Sergeant Hanmann, Corporal Perdoe, Privates Mack and Vail severely wounded. Young Surtz, of Easton, was sun-struck and came near dying. No member of the Sixteenth Regiment was hurt. It was expected the soldiers would cover the restoration of the track by a working party, but after they had reached the ground the workers did not appear. After waiting half an hour, they marched through Penn and Fifth streets back to the depot. Men could not be found to do the dangerous work proposed. From the mob following the soldiers came a deafening storm of curses, threats, and insults hurled at the Easton Greys. Many men carried great stones and bricks wishing to throw them, yet fearing to get close enough. They regretted loudly that the soldiers had not come down the track again in the cut, so they might have been stoned from the ramparts twenty feet above. In the cut one could see the ground covered with stones, fragments of iron, and bricks, hurled down the previous evening. As the troops marched along a volley of stones from the windows on the route fell upon them. From time to time, sudden fear of retaliation seized the mob, and wheeling they dashed into open doors. Finding the soldiers did not fire, their assailants grew bolder, and there was good reason to believe that if the return march had not been made when it was, another combat must have taken place.

The rioters openly threatened to burn the railroad property, notwithstanding the presence in the city of nearly one thousand soldiers. They also threatened to

massacre the Easton Greys. The animosity against that company was greatest because the volley of the Greys did more deadly execution the previous evening, than all the regular firing of the other companies.

The terrible effects of the fusilades was now made apparent, thirteen killed and thirty-seven wounded was the result. The corpse of a boy was found during the morning, with the abdomen shot wide open. A woman was shot at her sewing machine, but not seriously hurt. A German came about the depot crying for vengeance, because, he said, his wife had been killed by the soldiers.

The town was full of excitement. The rioters congregated in masses on the street corners, but the excessive heat of the day seemed to prevent overt acts.

The five companies of the Sixteenth Regiment at Reading were almost all Irishmen. They slipped away from the depot into the town singly and by twos and threes, and gave their ammunition to the rioters, by whom they were everywhere hailed as brethren, and with whom they engaged in drinking. They were repeatedly heard to swear that not only would they not fire upon the mob in any event, but that if the Easton Greys did so they would fire upon them, and help the rioters to clean them out and burn the railroad property. The rioters were greatly encouraged. The Fourth Regiment, feeling itself in momentary danger of betrayal, and of being put between two fires, wanted to go home.

General Frank Reeder telegraphed all the time, and shrouded himself in mystery. He did not care to show himself to the people of Reading.

Meanwhile the most unsoldierly lack of discipline prevailed among the military. There were sentries at each

entrance to the depot, yet the platforms were crowded with persons who openly avowed their fixed purpose to rout the militia and burn the property of the Railroad Company. They expressed a determination to kill some of the companies of the Fourth Regiment.

The presence of the military did not curb the spirit of the rioters. On the contrary they grew bolder and more threatening. For some days after the fight open attacks on the trains were made.

The strikers mounted a passing loaded coal train, put on the brakes, stopped the train and pushed back the caboose and several loaded cars, thus virtually blockading the down track. One of the eight-ton cars was dumped on the rails. At ten minutes after four o'clock, July 25th, the down express train came along slowly on the other track. The strikers were led by a large man wearing a dark shirt and dark pants. His hair looked as if it had been recently shaved from his head.

Fully two hundred strikers would rush right up squarely to the front of the approaching locomotive, wave their hands, shake their clenched fists, and by many devices intimidate and threaten the engine driver and train employes. An up freight train was compelled to go back, and the crew made to desert the cars. At one time it was feared they would run the engine into the river below the city. The up passenger and express train came through the city at a fearful speed, with the engine whistling lustily. As she sped through the crowd, Engineer Saracool bent low in his cab and gave the engine full stroke, in order to successfully pass the enraged men.

The freight up from Philadelphia and the market trains

were compelled to halt and go no further. At this point the passenger train down, was stopped in the cut, where the fighting took place. The crew were compelled to desert and the passengers were obliged to leave. These high handed proceedings continued until about seven o'clock, when nearly all the strikers left the ground for parts unknown. Not one of the rioters was either killed or wounded.

The majority, in fact all the unfortunates, were law-abiding, peaceable citizens, who had assembled at Seventh and Penn streets simply to gratify their curiosity.

A large body of Coal and Iron Police, from the coal regions, were quartered at the Company's mammoth car shops, which works the strikers threatened to burn. A large crowd of the friends of the railroad men procured about fifty muskets for the strikers, and there was imminent danger of a desperate conflict.

The military companies engaged in the fight were the Hamburg Rifles, Slatington Rifles, Allentown Continentals, Company I, infantry, of Catasqua, Easton Greys, and a company from Portland, Northampton county. They arrived at eight o'clock in the evening. A number of the military, after their bloody work was done, threw down their arms, and asked for citizens' clothes.

At a quarter after eleven o'clock, the night of the 25th, the strikers had torn down the watch boxes at the street corners, and proceeded down the road to tear up the tracks. They signalized their departure by a perfect hurricane of yells and cheering, as they proceeded in their onward march of ruin and destruction. The city had become turbulent again, and the outlook indicated desperate work. The cry among the men was, "Wages and revenge."

The Sheriff issued his proclamation, and Mayor Evans returned home from Ocean Grove, on a special train, in answer to an urgent telegram. Town meetings were held to take steps to prevent any repetition of the dark deeds which had cast a gloom over the whole community at Reading.

Before the militia were withdrawn from Reading, there was a narrow escape from a bloody scene. It was the night after the horrible fusilades. Large crowds had gathered at the scene of that conflict, and about the same time several companies of the Fourth Regiment marched down Seventh to Penn street. Here they met a company of the Sixteenth Regiment, and a fight between the military seemed imminent. The crowd treated the Easton Greys to a shower of stones. This company immediately levelled their pieces, when they were notified by Colonel Scholl of the Sixteenth Regiment that no indiscriminate slaughter would be permitted. All the troops then passed down Penn and out Fifth street, followed by the mob, who fairly threw insults in the teeth of the soldiery.

The Morristown company of the Sixteenth Regiment subsequently stacked their arms, and refused absolutely to operate against the rioters. Some of them threw their guns away, and distributed the cartridges among the crowd. The company left for home shortly afterwards, as did all the militia engaged in the firing on the citizens. Mayor Evans issued a proclamation, calling for one thousand volunteers to do patrol duty in the city, until quiet and order was restored. A special force of policemen were sworn in, and other measures taken to preserve order in the city.

On the day after the fight, Coroner Goodhart, of Reading, summoned a jury of inquest, and proceeded to investigate the circumstances attending the shooting of peaceable, unarmed citizens. A summons was issued for General Frank Reeder, who had disappeared from Reading, in obedience to orders, and had established his headquarters at Allentown, to which place the Coroner sent a notification to him. On the 30th, seven days after the fusilades, General Reeder submitted the following sworn statement, in relation to the affair :

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH BRIGADE, }
 SECOND DIVISION, N. G. P., }
 ALLENTOWN, Pa., July 30. }

Geo. S. Goodhart, Reading, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Your notification, dated July 27, covering certain inquiries to which you desire replies, was duly received by me. While I do not for one moment concede your right to demand such replies from me at this time, while I know perfectly well that my official report of the occurrences at Reading, on the 23d inst., to my superior officers, is the only account which I can at this time be required to make. I am, nevertheless, quite willing to furnish you with whatever information is in my possession; calculated to throw light upon the subject matter now under official investigation by you. To that end I reply categorically to your questions, as follows :

Q. Who ordered your command to this place? A. I was ordered to Reading with the Fourth Regiment of my brigade, by Major-General William J. Bolton, com-

manding Second Division, National Guards of Pennsylvania.

Q. Who gave you orders to march through the cut to Seventh and Penn streets? A. I received no orders to march through the cut, but I was requested to march into the cut to liberate a train in the possession of the rioters, by an official of the Reading Railroad Company.

Q. Who ordered you to fire upon the crowd? A. No person ordered me to fire, neither did I fire, nor direct any other person to fire upon the crowd.

Q. Which of the companies discharged their guns, and how often? A. All the companies did firing, but no living creature can give the further information desired.

Q. Did you acquaint the High Sheriff of this county with your coming and presence in the city? If not, why not? A. I did not; it was not my duty to acquaint him with my coming, and it was while I was proceeding in the direction of the High Sheriff's house that my command was attacked by the mob; upon receiving orders to repair to Reading, I took cars with my command at Allentown, and proceeded without incident to Temple, where the train was boarded by Messrs. Eltz and Paxon, Railroad officials; these gentlemen informed me that the Reading depot was in possession of a mob, numbering from two to three thousand; I desired them to stop the train just outside of sight of the depot, which being done, I disembarked the troops, and, having formed, we marched to the depot, finding it in the hands and under the protection of the Coal and Iron Police; I was then requested to release a train from the hands of the strikers, and was informed that this cut was the direct road to the

Penn street crossing, which it was necessary to clear to permit the running of trains. I moved my command in the direction of the cut, but before reaching it we were met by a large body of men, whose violent gestures, coarse insults, unspoken threats, and general bearing, suggested the idea of halting the regiment, loading the pieces, and moving the musicians to the rear. Before entering the cut we were saluted by the crowd with a volley of stones and some pistol shots. We moved down the cut, stoned, at every step, by a yelling mob, without firing a shot, or speaking a word in reply to the shouts which almost deafened us, until we reached the second bridge. During this march I, seconded by all the other officers of the command, constantly cautioned the men not to fire, notwithstanding the fact that every step was being marked by the blood of the men, and that many of the troops had been knocked down by the flying stones. Near the second bridge a single shot, fired without orders, was the signal for a dropping fire, which, while doing little or no damage to the mob of rioters, served to check the fast-falling shower of stones. Pressing on, the command reached Penn street, and was confronted by a large crowd of persons, who met us by hurling stones and firing pistols at the regiment, which was only stopped by what I have since learned was a very effective volley, which entirely dispersed them. Not a single shot was fired by us on Penn street, either up or down, nor was there a single shot fired after the last halt was made by us on Seventh street. Of all the five cart-loads of stones, which I heard next day were collected in the cut, very few were thrown after the first shot was fired. Most of the stones were of

such size and weight that it is almost certain strong arms were employed in the work ; upon reaching Penn Square, I inquired for the Mayor, and was told he was at the sea-shore ; I also inquired for the High Sheriff, but could learn no tidings of his whereabouts ; I thereupon returned to the depot, which I had been asked to protect from the mob. Later in the night, the Mayor having returned to the city, I was requested by him to send a company of troops into the cut to drive off the mob, then alleged to be engaged in tearing up the railroad track. This I declined to do, principally because I was short of ammunition, having had but fifteen hundred rounds.

I am led to supplement this narrative with a word or two in defense of the military propriety of moving into the cut by the strictures which your District Attorney and one of your daily papers have been pleased to make upon me for having selected that route for my advance into the town. Raw recruits run greater risks from having their formation destroyed and the confusion incident upon broken alignments than from any other cause. had the mob succeeded in breaking its formation, the Fourth Regiment might itself have degenerated into a mob, and would have been completely at the mercy of the rioters. This might have been accomplished had we been on a wide street where the mob could press upon our flanks, but in the cut it was impossible, as our flanks were clear, our formation was preserved and the men had room to use their rifles with reasonable effect, and we emerged from the cut without the loss of a single soldier. I think I can safely rely upon the result of

the battle with the mob as the most unanswerable argument against the theory of a military blunder.

In accordance with your request I send this letter as a sworn statement.

(Signed)

FRANK REEDER,

Brigadier-General.

The admission of General Frank Reeder in the remarkable statement given above, is sufficient evidence that the destruction of life at Reading was a reckless and wanton sacrifice. Even admitting that his men had been badly treated by a mob of roughs, that they had suffered from the vigorous attack of a mass of men armed with stones and pieces of iron, and other missiles, the fact that not a single rioter was either killed or wounded, goes far to reflect upon the indiscretion of the soldiers, in firing into a company of innocent people, for it shows, what was true, that the mob of rioters, who had stoned the marching militia in the railway cut, had already vanished. The feeling against the Fourth Regiment both among law abiding citizens and the rioters, was intensely bitter. The result of the Coroner's inquiry into the circumstances served to increase the animosity, and there is no doubt that at one time the members of the Easton Greys were in actual danger of being massacred in a mass by the enraged populace. Some of them obtained citizens clothes, disposed of their guns and accoutrements in some manner, and quietly stole away.

The Fourth Regiment received orders to depart from Reading with lively satisfaction. The Sixteenth Regiment was composed of workingmen, and sympathized with the strikers, and for that reason were withdrawn

A detachment of United States regulars subsequently came to Reading, but their services were not called into requisition. They did not fire on crowds of citizens because of "unspoken threats," hence there was no further trouble. Then the Mayor and Sheriff undertook to restore and preserve order, and they accomplished it. In a few days Reading had become the same quiet, plodding town it had been before.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JERSEY TRAINMEN.

Threatened Riot at Phillipsburg—The Trainmen's Strike—Intense Excitement at Trenton—Governor Bedle Takes Decisive Action—Disagreeable Demonstrations at Jersey City—Militia at Hoboken—Governor Bedle Goes to Newark and Jersey City—Guarding a Bridge at Brunswick—Soldiers Sympathizing with Strikers—The Jersey Central Railway—Relieved Soldiers Rejoicing.

On Wednesday, July 23d, 1877, the Mayor of Phillipsburg, New Jersey, issued his proclamation calling upon persons "to desist from making threats against or intimidating such persons as desired to follow their usual avocations," and warning all good citizens from gathering on streets, and asking them to aid him in preserving the peace of the town, and notifying all strangers bearing unmistakable evidence of idle wanderers, that they would be arrested by officers on duty.

The firemen and brakemen of the Central Railroad of New Jersey joined in a strike on the 23d of July, and would allow no train, except a locomotive with a mail car attached, to pass over the road. Deputy-Sheriff Shaffer and Dispatcher Harris endeavored to start a passenger train for New York from Phillipsburg, New Jersey, but were unsuccessful, as no engineer could be found who would risk his life to run it, and in consequence no train started until evening. The railroad men were considerably surprised when they saw the train, consisting of

two baggage and one passenger car, and censured the men at the other end of the road for allowing it to start.

The Deputy-Sheriff had a conference with the leaders of the strike. He told them that the laws of the State would be enforced at any hazard, and advised them to go to their homes and remain quiet, assuring them that their rights, as well as those of the Company, would be protected. He proposed to start all trains on time, and, if the strikers did not interfere all would be well; but if they molested the men who run the trains they must expect the consequence. One of the leaders replied that they were willing that a locomotive and mail car should run, but they would not allow any other cars to be attached, and then the mail agent must do the braking. The strikers seemed determined that no trouble should arise from any fault of theirs, and requested the Chief of Police to arrest all tramps found around the road.

The engineers drove away about twenty tramps from the Morris and Essex roundhouse.

The firemen and brakemen of the Lehigh and Susquehanna road struck in the morning of the same day, and no train was allowed to leave Easton. The men on that road were very orderly.

R. H. Sayre, of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, issued orders that in case there should be a strike on that road, all of the shops should be shut down, and not started again until the difficulty was settled.

A mail car attached to a locomotive left Phillipsburg in the morning. All trains arriving at New York over the Central Railroad of New Jersey, consisted of a baggage car and locomotive; the passenger cars were





MILITIA GUARDING THE SWITCH-HOUSE.

brought to Bloomsburg and left there. The mail train over the Morris and Essex Railroad for New York run on time. When the train was about to leave Phillipsburg, on its return, the fireman left the engine and refused to fire up, when the chairman of the strikers ordered him to resume his post and take the cars left at Bloomsburg to the Washington side where they would be in no danger, as it was not the wish of the strikers to have any damage done to the Company's property.

The proprietors of the Warren Foundry, at Phillipsburg, were compelled to shut down the 26th, as they could not ship their pipe, and had no place to store it. This threw over three hundred men out. The Company had a very large contract on hand, and the strike proved a great damage to them.

A large number of boatmen and tramps were in Phillipsburg and it was feared they would endeavor to incite a riot.

On the morning of July 24th, Jersey City presented an exciting scene, as laboring men were on their way to work, little knots of men were gathered on every corner of the principal streets exchanging speculations as to the cause of the sudden advent of the military. They had been summoned on Saturday to be at their armories in the evening, but they did not appear in their uniform then, as on Sunday. Monday morning they were in squads here and there, in search of absentees. One squad stood at each ferry to detain such members as, through not being notified of the latest order from headquarters, or from whatever reason, sought to cross to New York. Inquiry at the regimental armory revealed the fact that Governor Bedle, who had spent

Sunday at Long Branch, had issued an order, by telegraph, at midnight, to the commandants of all the regiments to collect their men at the armories, and uniform, arm and equip them. The regiments which had already been ordered to hold themselves in readiness, were under arms all over the State by daylight Monday morning.

Brigadier-General Plume, of Newark, arrived to assume command, and Surgeon-General Varick, of Jersey City, and Inspector-General Fay, of Elizabeth, were soon in attendance. Lieutenant-Colonel Marvin, Major Howard, Brigade-Surgeon Hitchcock, and Captains Meeker and Wardwell, all of Newark, and of General Plume's staff, accompanied him. Of Governor Bedle's staff, Messrs. Charles S. Gregory, W. H. Vredenburg, A. Q. Garretson, William Douglas and John Ramsey, were in attendance during the entire day. Upon Governor Bedle's arrival it was learned that his order was based on a despatch that he had received from Philadelphia, to the effect that the Pennsylvania Company's buildings there were in the hands of the mob, and another from Major-General Mott, in Trenton, saying that trouble was anticipated there.

Governor Bedle established his headquarters in the apartments of the Chief of Police, Jersey City, Tuesday morning, and assumed the duties of Commander-in-Chief in fact. At Elizabeth and elsewhere, regiments had not a round of ammunition, but it was ordered on from Trenton at once. Lieutenant Ellis' Battery, in Jersey City, was ordered to be in readiness, but they had only one gun; the Hoboken Battery was in the same condition. The Battery at Guttenburg had two, and one was ordered from there to each of those cities.

The first detachment of several batteries of United States Regular Artillery, ordered to Philadelphia to protect Government property, crossed from Fort Hamilton to Jersey City, and marched up several squares through Montgomery street, before they turned towards the depot, where the cars lay, near Washington street. At this point an ugly crowd had gathered. It was noticed throughout the day that there were a good many strangers in Jersey City, mysterious men, who assembled in little knots and talked together, or drew near to any collection of people seen in conversation, as though feeling the pulse of the public. The soldiers were jeered and threatened as they passed. About this time a conductor, named Wright, sauntered along the track, when the following colloquy occurred between him and one of the crowd: "Are you going to take the train out with these sogers?" "I guess so." "Well, then, by God! you won't go above Grove street." And the speaker turned away and Wright went on towards his train. Another man called after him: "Say, young fellow, don't make no mistake. If you have any regard for yourself you won't give nobody any chance to lay you out." Jack Wildey, the engineer of the same train, was standing at the Glayne street crossing a few minutes later, when he was accosted by another man, and asked: "Are you the engineer of this train, taking out the sogers?" He said "Yes." "If you attempt to take that train out we'll kill you before you go six blocks." Superintendent Barker walked along just then, and found that both conductor and engineer were so badly alarmed that they refused to take the train out. Warren Hawk, conductor of another train, consented to go if his engineer,

McMichael, would go, although he felt sick. The engineer said that he would not take out the train. Mr. Barker asked him whether he would take it out, provided the militia dispersed the crowd. He replied that he would.

Mr. Barker laid the facts before Governor Bedle, who thought that it would needlessly excite the people to call out the militia, and that it would be best to send a police force. A strong reserve had been called out early in the morning, and fifty of them, under Captain Mullany, were sent to the scene of disturbance. They took possession of the crossings and kept back the crowd. The engineer then consented to start, and the artillerymen, including another detachment of about equal numbers, armed with muskets, about one hundred and fifty in all, got away about six o'clock. Other detachments arrived from Fort Adams, Boston, and departed later. Altogether, about eight hundred went by the Pennsylvania Railroad for Philadelphia.

About two hundred and fifty men of the Ninth Regiment were encamped on Elysian Fields, Hoboken, to hold themselves in readiness to protect the Morris and Essex, or the Erie Railroads. Nearly one hundred extra watchmen were guarding the property of the Eastern Division of the Erie Railroad.

No indication of trouble on the New Jersey Southern Railroad were reported during the strike. There had been no cutting down of wages since last winter. The pay of some of the men had been increased.

George Doremus, conductor of the Midland Railroad, while going home with his cash box was attacked by four men, one of whom struck him on the head with a

piece of lead pipe. His wounds were considered serious. His assailants escaped without any plunder.

Hundreds of men lounged about the Newark depots all day the 23d. General Plume received an order from Governor Bedle to hold the First and Fifth Regiments in readiness to move. At noon six hundred men were assembled at the armory, under command of Colonels Barnard and Allen, and rations were dealt out. Several of the men declared that they would throw down their guns rather than shoot at the strikers. The entire police force, with the exception of the men on patrol, was held in reserve. The police were ordered to take all of the guns in the gun shops to the police stations. They were in full sympathy with the railroadmen, and openly said they would not fire upon any strikers. The passenger trains ran on time all day; but few freight trains passed. The brakemen and firemen sneered at and geyed the soldiers when passing the armory. The employes at the depot feared to say anything, but they were in sympathy with the strikers on the other railroads. The miners at Dover were ready to help the railroadmen.

The publication of a call for a mass meeting of citizens at Turn Hall, Newark, Tuesday evening, excited a tumultuous feeling, and hundreds of men gathered on street corners and talked over the situation. It was signed by the United Workingmen's Party and the Communist Committees. Many of them were in the Paris Commune. The societies there number nearly eighteen hundred men. The call had aroused the laborers and mechanics, and alarmed the city officials. Sheriff Harrison summoned all the constables in the county to meet at the court house, and swore in a large number of deputy marshals. Mayor

Yates issued a proclamation to the people to abstain from public gatherings.

An attempt was made to destroy the new bridge at Bergen Tunnel, and President Sloan, of the Delaware Lackawanna and Western Railroad, caused two constables and forty armed men to be posted there. The train from Scranton brought ten or twelve men of a delegation from the United Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to Newark.

The excitement at Trenton was greater than any time since the strikes began. It was expected that the train hands on the New York and Belvidere divisions would strike, and there was not a soldier in the city that could be depended on. The members of Companies A, B and D, Seventh Regiment, were kept in their armories all day. Companies B and D were workingmen, and many of them refused to turn out. Guards were sent out, and the men had to be brought under guard to the armories. One hundred and twenty men of the Trenton companies were ordered to go to the Clinton street depot, where they took the train to New Brunswick to guard the railroad bridge there. A guard of old soldiers was at the State Arsenal under General Truex, and the battery loaded with grape and canister was in a position commanding the approaches thereto.

Seven companies of the State National Guards left Trenton to concentrate at New Brunswick. They numbered nearly three hundred men. Of these a part went to Jersey City and a part remained in New Brunswick to guard the railroad bridge at that place. Ammunition had been forwarded to Jersey City.

Four guns and a battery from Fort Hamilton, and a

battery from New London, acting as infantry, passed through Trenton, *en-route* for Philadelphia.

At night the excitement at Trenton was gradually rising. The State authorities ordered the Seventh Regiment to be ready at a moments notice, and Company A took charge of the State Arsenal.

Governor Bedle issued the following proclamation :

To the People of the State of New Jersey :

In the present State of the public mind I warn all citizens to keep at their homes and places of business, avoiding all gathering in the streets, so as to give encouragement by their presence to evil disposed persons. Let every good citizen now by word, act, and sentiment aid the authorities in securing perfect peace. Sheriffs and officers of cities are particularly requested to exert all their power in a calm, judicious, but effectual way to protect life and property from all lawlessness, and thereby save counties and cities from any liabilities under the statute for destruction of property by mobs. The whole power of the State will be used for the maintenance of the law. I caution every person disposed to disturb the peace to desist at once, and thereby prevent any necessity for the use of the State force.

Given under my hand at the city of Trenton, this 23d day of July, A. D., 1877.

By the Governor.

J. H. BEDLE.

(Signed.) JOHN A. HALL, Private Secretary.

At Elizabeth, General De Hart sent Colonel Morrell a second order to have the Third Regiment ready for marching orders. Companies A, B and C assembled at

the Market Hall Armory, Elizabeth. Companies from Rahway, New Brunswick, and Keyport were *en-route* to that city. A large crowd collected in the streets around the armory, but there was no disturbance. The companies rested on their arms that night.

Mayor Townly and Sheriff Thompson received official notices from the receiver of the Central Railroad and from the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Company, that they feared riots in that city and county from strikers. The Third Regiment received orders to go to Hackensack Bridge to protect it. Hundreds of people surrounded the Pennsylvania main depot and Market Hall, and some threatened the militia.

Sheriff Bill's, of Hunterdon County, arrested a number of strikers on the 25th, who, it was thought, would cause some trouble if they had been allowed to remain at large. He sent them to Hunterdon County jail. At Phillipsburg there were thirty strikers arrested.

At Easton the trains running had guards on each engine. Eight hundred Pennsylvania militia were ordered to Easton, though all was quiet there. The New Jersey troops were in camp at Phillipsburg.

Several trains arrived at Hoboken from Scranton, Washington, and Phillipsburg, with passengers. Among them were some United States Marshals, who had in their custody the somewhat noted Jack Gallagher, who, during the strike, had detained the United States mails. He had also, it was charged, threatened to take the life of any man who would run the mail train. Gallagher's arrest was delayed for the reason that it might have caused trouble had it been made while the excitement was at its height. The prisoner was taken before

United States Commissioner Muirhead, at Jersey City, and committed for trial.

Detective Killcauly, of Jersey City, arrested Frank McCleary, Financial Secretary of the Brotherhood of Brakeman, on a charge of conspiracy to create a riot at Communipaw, (New Jersey Central Railway.) He was locked up.

The Jersey City Police Board, in a private consultation on the 25th of July, decided that as the three hundred and eighty special policemen on duty were costing the city \$3.75 per day each, and as there was no further use for their services, it was necessary to discharge them, which was accordingly done.

The Vice Chancellor of New Jersey had issued orders to all Sheriffs along the line of the New Jersey Central, directing them to summarily arrest for contempt of court all persons obstructing the running of the road by the receiver.

Governor Bedle issued orders on the 26th, for the disbandment of the Ninth Regiment, stationed at Elysian Fields, Hoboken. The soldiers immediately deserted their camp, where they had been for ten days, and marched to Odd Fellows' Hall. Colonel Hart thanked them for their obedience at the hour of need and general good behavior. He also read a despatch from the Governor, complimenting the troops. Vociferous applause followed, and amid the tumult a soldier shouted, "Three cheers for Pills," and there was loud laughter and hurrahs. The men, during their encampment, had to doctor themselves pretty energetically.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEW YORK AGITATED.

The Excitement in the Great City—"The Dangerous Classes" Carefully Watched—Getting Ready for Contingencies—Numerous Regiments of Militia Ordered Out—No Strikes but Serious Apprehensions Felt—The Internationals Active—A Great Communistic Meeting in Tompkins Square—What They Demanded of Society—Gay Times at the Armories—Ready Warriors without Foes to Face—Escaped the Danger.

In New York, as elsewhere in the country, there was a deep rooted and widespread hostility toward the leading managers of the great railway lines. Nor was this feeling confined only to railroad managers. In the great metropolis are hundreds of wealthy manufacturing companies, which have been gradually forcing down the wages of their employes, until it was no longer possible for them to live. As to the railroad managers, people very generally believed that they had conducted the business intrusted to them too much for their own private advantage. But this afforded no excuse for destroying property and stopping trains by mobs.

The conviction was universal that the four trunk railways from the seaboard to the West had seriously crippled themselves by carrying on a cut-throat war against each other in regard to the rates of freights and fares, especially the former, and that this was the chief immediate reason why they found themselves obliged to diminish the wages of employes down to the mere living

point, if not below it. But even if the railway managers were highly censurable for these facts, their conduct afforded no justification for riots that ended in incendiarianism, bloodshed, and robbery in a number of cities.

The sudden reduction of the wages of the railway employes, combined with the fact that even at the new rates they could only get work part of the time, fell heavily upon a vast number of honest, hardworking men; but even this was no ground for riots or violence of any kind, which always aggravate the evils they are designed to cure.

The city was full of men who were out of employment or working at low wages. Tens of thousands of them were very poor, and the families of many were suffering for lack of daily food.

It was a time for cool, calm reflection on all sides. The poor, who were suffering, showed excellent sense in refraining from threats to retaliate on those who were better off, or who, perchance, refused to hire them at the price they demanded. Less prudence and justice were shown by the wealthy and well-to-do classes who talked too much about shooting down every one who did not think as they did, or act to suit them.

It was not a good time for people to lose their heads.

It was not surprising therefore that the startling events occurring elsewhere, should cause the people of New York no little uneasiness, by a reflex influence on the vast hive of human beings who were scarcely able to obtain a bit of bread to appease their gnawing hunger.

A careful canvass of the feelings and views of the employes of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Companies, made on Sunday, the 22nd of July,

1877, revealed, the fact, that there was a decided disposition to join in a strike. Great dissatisfaction was caused by the ten per cent. reduction of wages on the roads, which went into effect on the first of July. The reduction applied to the wages of all employes except those whose pay would be lowered by it to less than ten per cent. an hour, a dollar a day, or thirty dollars a month. A hope was entertained that a compromise would ultimately be made with Mr. Vanderbilt, by which the reduction would be modified in regard to the engineers. In such an event, of course, there would be no trouble. At any rate the strike would not commence at the New York end of the line. The New York Central was looked to for a beginning. The Hudson River and Harlem men were dissatisfied enough to strike, but the New York Central men must do the striking. An employe of the Harlem, about this time, ridiculed the idea of any attempt at a strike anywhere on either of the three roads. The Company was evidently prepared to spend millions rather than yield, while the employes were too much disorganized to carry on a concerted or effective action. "With the National and State Governments against us," he said, "and the troops and militia called out to defend rich corporations, there are no chances for us poor men. Under any circumstances," he continued, "a strike on the Harlem road would be futile, as it 'ran nowhere,' and it didn't make any difference whether the trains connected or not."

A reduction of the wages of the engineers and firemen made a short time before, was accepted with great dissatisfaction by some of the men on the Morris and Essex Division of the Delaware and Lackawanna Rail-

road. A further reduction would cause trouble, but the Company had not intimated a desire or intention to cut down the wages any lower.

On the New Jersey Southern, everything was running smoothly, and the men seemed disposed to accept what the officials were able to pay them.

One of the most intelligent engineers on the Erie declared that the engineers had received no instructions whatever from the officers of the Brotherhood, regarding the attitude they were expected to maintain during the present difficulties.

Mayor Ely, of New York, held two conferences with the Police Commissioners the evening of the 23rd, proceedings of which were kept secret. It is now known however, that the conference had reference to the proper preparations for any possible breach of peace in that city, consequent upon railroad riots.

The National Guardsmen of New York looked for orders all day Monday, the 23rd, however, nothing was heard from Albany, and at the several armories all was dark and silent, and General Shaler was at his home in Jersey City. It was deemed best, in case of a call, to summons the larger regiments, and regiments, too, the members of which would not have any close feeling for the rioters. The first call was for the Seventh, Eighth, Twenty-second, Seventy-first and Twelfth.

At the arsenal, Colonel Wylie's aids were in readiness to prepare supplies and ammunition in such quantities as might be called for. The opinion of the officers seems to be that the troops ordered out at Buffalo and Rochester would be ample for all emergencies likely to arise along the western part of the Erie line.

The departure of the Twenty-third Regiment, National Guards of the State of New York, from Brooklyn, for Hornellsville, created considerable commotion, both in that city and New York.

An effort to force a strike among the cabinet-makers of New York and vicinity was not very successful.

One prominent manufacturer reduced the rates of his employes who work at "piece work," seven and a half per cent., last Autumn. During the Spring the rates were increased, but recently a reduction was again made. The workmen employed in the manufactories, excited by the strikers on the railroads, became greatly dissatisfied, and nearly three hundred of them resolved that they would work no longer, unless they were given an increase of twenty-five per cent. on the rates being paid them. Accordingly these men struck. Mr. Herman, the proprietor, was in Europe, and his manager, Mr. Lippert, told the strikers he could do nothing until he heard from his principal. This was not satisfactory to all parties, and a meeting of about one hundred and fifty of the workmen was held at Harmony Hall, in Essex street, to consider the situation. Meanwhile a large number of workmen, principally carvers and machine men, returned to work, determined to wait for an answer from Mr. Hermann. The meeting at Harmony Hall appointed committees to wait on workmen at the various establishments in New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg, to induce them to join in the movement. Later a meeting of the strikers was held at Harmony Hall to receive the reports of committees, which showed that but little success had attended their efforts, the men at work in nearly every instance refusing to strike.

On Tuesday evening, July 24th, "The Bread Winners League," an organization of laboring men, met in New York, and adopted a series of resolutions, in which they set forth that while labor is the foundation of national prosperity, and represents two-thirds of the population of the United States, it was powerless in the protection of its rights and interests. Flattered by the two political parties, it had been betrayed by both, and legislative and executive power had been employed in either for the perpetuation of official patronage and enormous salaries, or the creation and maintenance of railroad and other corporate monopolies. They condemned, as well as lamented, the destruction of life and property, but believed that officers of gigantic railroad corporations were responsible for the acts deplored, by their oppressive and unjust conduct toward their employes.

They believed that the last reduction of ten per cent., simultaneously made through every section of the Union, indicated a combination among railroad companies to pauperize labor, since they made no reduction whatever in the fares of passengers, nor did they lessen the enormous compensation enjoyed by their chief officers. That the lives and comfort of travellers depended upon the intelligence and fidelity of engineers and brakemen, and the exposure and danger connected with their duties entitled them especially to public sympathy.

They further declared, that if the industrial and laboring classes desire to protect their just interests and political independence, they must be emancipated from party vassalage, and secure direct and honest representations in the councils of the nation. State and municipal authorities were in conspiracy and union with monopolies;

even the judiciary were under their influence. The instruments of corporations notoriously become the Judges of the country or the leaders of political organizations. Augustus Schell, Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, was the treasurer of the New York Central Railroad, and its accredited counsel was a member of the Republican General Committee. The Directors, who, by negligence or crime, steal the earnings of the poor from savings banks, and render life insurance companies bankrupt, invariably escape punishment, and under existing laws and their administration afforded no adequate protection for either depositors or the insured.

They regretted that some of the newspapers of New York insisted that the industrial classes should refrain from any expression of opinion on the subjects then virtually affecting the rights and interests of labor. Such a sentiment subjugated labor to capital, and provoked hostility and distrust, and by reflecting on the intelligence, integrity and patriotism of workingmen, deserved and should receive their united condemnation.

A company of about two hundred and fifty men and boys assembled in front of the Seventh Regiment armory, at Tompkins Market, at about ten o'clock on the night of the 24th. They commenced to jeer and shout at the members of the regiment, and a sergeant, in uniform, attempting to pass through the crowd, was rather roughly handled. He retreated to the barracks and procured a suit of citizens' clothes. At the time he was attacked he was going for powder to load the guns that had been placed in position in the armory during the day. Captain McCulloch, of the Seventeenth Precinct, with a platoon of men, succeeded in dispersing the mob. There were no arrests made.

Some time later the mob gathered, about fifty strong, at the corner of Third street and the Bowery. It was thought that they intended to break into the Dry Dock Savings Bank. On the approach of the police they were again dispersed without any great trouble.

A committee of engineers of the Long Island Railroad, had a conference with E. B. Hindsdale, the General Manager, in reference to the proposed ten per cent. reduction of their wages. The meeting was of quite an amicable character. On the part of themselves, and the employes generally of the Company, the engineers remonstrated against any further cutting down of the present rates of compensation. The engineers also expressed their dissatisfaction at the irregular way in which their salaries had been paid. They had not been paid for the previous month, and they complained that two months frequently elapsed before they got the money due them. The conference resulted in nothing of a very positive nature, but it was understood that the ten per cent. reduction would not take effect for the present and that the Company would endeavor to make arrangements providing in future for a fixed day in every month upon which to pay the engineers and other employes.

Alfred K. Fisk, the General Superintendent of the road, said that whatever difficulties existed between the Company and its employes, were sure to be settled in a manner satisfactory to all parties.

On the 24th, President Martin, of the Park Department, called upon Mayor Ely, to consult him relative to a request made by a committee of laborers to hold a mass meeting in Tompkins Square, on Wednesday evening, the 25th. It was understood that this gathering had

been arranged for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the strikers. Police Commissioner Smith was also present at the consultation. The Mayor said he had no objection to the assemblage, as he anticipated that it would pass off in a peaceable and orderly manner. Mr. Smith stated that he would make all necessary preparations so as to prevent any disturbance upon that occasion. Mayor Ely was under the impression that the trouble would be over in a very short time, and no danger whatever need be apprehended in the city.

A very large assemblage of workingmen, sympathizers with the railroad strikers, met at the German Assembly Rooms, in the Bowery, the evening of the 24th. The place was noted as the resort of the disturbing element in the city ; the Communists having held frequent meetings there. At the meeting that evening there were some three hundred people present, mostly Germans, who gathered for the purpose of giving expression to their sentiments on the pending troubles on the lines of our railroads. These assembly rooms were kept by a brother of Alderman Sauer. They were also the headquarters of the Liquor Dealers' Association of the city, who hold meetings about once a week if emergencies require them to come together.

Justus Schwab was one of the leaders in the movement. There were no leaders from other societies present. It was comparatively a spontaneous demonstration on behalf of the suffering men on the lines of the railroads. Schwab declared that if anybody talked about a man with a family living on seventy cents a day he was a damned fool. "Whoever says so," to use Mr. Schwab's expressive language, "I knock his brains out right away."

He thought the strikers perfectly right.

As to his own financial condition, Mr. Schwab was in doubt whether he was worth much money or not.

As to those who sympathized in the movement of the strikers, there were many respectable men. They did not want any fights. They wanted the railroad men to have their rights. That was all. With seventy cents a day to live on they must starve or steal.

The audience was at times inclined to be disorderly, but the officers suppressed indications of a tumult. David Conroy was elected Chairman, and J. E. Hall, Secretary.

Mr. Conroy, who belongs to the Horseshoers' Union, on taking the chair, said they were called upon to perform a duty to their suffering brethren of the West. It was a struggle between exacting capital and impoverished labor. Thomas A. Scott, of Pennsylvania, had reduced the wages of his poor employes ten per cent. That man said, that ninety cents a day was enough to support a man and his family. Mr. Hayes did not represent the working classes of America. Let no man obey the mandates issued by him. He was not President by the voice of the people, but by chicanery and fraud. Therefore the people should not obey his proclamations. If he attempted to call out seventy-five thousand men, they would all enlist, and then let the President take care that he did not have to leave Washington as Louis Philippe left France in 1844.

Speakers were nominated for the mass meeting on Wednesday night, and the following were chosen: Mr. Cashman, of the Tailors' Union, McLander Thompson, and Mr. Winters to speak in English; Mr. Alexander

Jonas, Otto Wallstein, editor of the *Arbeiter Stimme*, and Justus Schwab to speak in German, and Demorest, the Paris Communist, to make a French address.

Wednesday, July 26th, was a day fraught with anxiety to the people of New York. The great demonstration of the Internationalists was to take place in the evening, and what the result might be, no one could foretell. The Tompkins Square meeting, was a theme in everyone's mouth.

All knew that the request of the restless and semi-communistic classes to improve the occasion and hold a public meeting in the densest quarter of New York, had been acceded to by the Park and Police Commissioners. The relative importance of New York to the rest of the Union could have received no better testimonial than the telegraphic dispatches which flashed into the city from every point of the compass, saying, in effect, "If New York gives way before the mob, when will this thing end?" "We are all looking to Wednesday night in New York, to know whether this strike is a spasmodic affair, or a rebellion from underneath." "The immense population of New York is looked to by all the disorderly elements for a final outbreak. Can it be prevented? Why do your Police Commissioners allow such a meeting at this crisis?"

Such were the contents of despatches received by merchants and other business and professional people in New York, and they attested the power of such a city for good or evil upon the whole country. Smaller cities trembled in apprehension of New York's vast population rising up against law and property: but in that city, as a general rule, the heads of men were not turned.

Nobody left town. Although the trains were embarrassed on all sides of New York, the Paris-like life of the city was illustrated, as every day in the week, by the presence of children out of doors, and carts and omnibuses were running to and fro. The beautiful Wednesday morning broke upon a bay as lively with shipping, as full of ferry boats, and as streaming with national flags as at any time in the history of the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere. Some thousands of daily visitors to New York, who came in late at the ferries, bantered each other when they landed, and ascended to Broadway. They looked about them and said, "There is no look of riot here." But others, more timid, responded, "The mornings are never riotous. We must wait until night to find our destiny out."

Even in Wall street, that seat of gamblers, lofty or low, the general inquiry was, "What will happen at Tompkins Square to-night?" Men answered this question according to their temperaments, and it was noticeable that the ordinary business American did not bother himself about prevention, trusting to luck that every offense against the law would redress itself. Yet the stock market tumbled underneath. Bluff was the game in that quarter of the town, and he would be a cheap man who effected to shrink before the possibilities of a communistic mass meeting.

At night, the lights began to gleam and glimmer in the quadrangle of tall brick tenements surrounding Tompkins Square. The windows were all up. Out of them hung women and children, and, in some instances, men, viewing with eager interest the gathering of the crowds below. The enthusiasm was not very great, but

now and then, in guttural German accents, or the more melifluous tones of "Old Ireland," came expressions laudatory of the workingmen's cause. From none of the houses were any banners exhibited, and the tops of the adjacent buildings presented no signs of life whatever. But the sidewalks everywhere were crowded with infantile treasures, adolescent youth of both sexes, and mature and indifferent people of all ages and of all nationalities. It was generally remarked that a more peaceable assemblage of people had never come together.

The hurrying hundreds gathered in the naked, sandy square before dark. A few societies marched in with red ribbons at their buttonholes, but the trade societies generally kept away. So did the tramps and bummers. A genial public opinion, the outcrop of the out-of-door hearty society, protected New York from all forms of dead-beats and bummers. The working people were particular about their company.

On the gates and bars about Tompkins Square were posters printed in large letters, which admonished the assembling crowds to stand still where they were, and think before going further in the troubles around them. An hour's work may cost millions of money and hundreds of lives. All the lives lost will not be on one side only, and the money will come back on the people to be paid out of the taxes to be imposed on all. Powder burns more than one hand when it is used.

Keep on the side of law, and keep the law on the side of laborers. If they wanted to right their wrongs, they must keep in the path of right.

There was a great deal of talk about capital being the enemy of labor. That was not true. Capital and labor

must work together. The capitalist and the laborer were partners in business, and it required good faith on both sides to make business profitable. Neither can prosper alone.

They should beware of men who talk violence, riots and bloodshed. Such were their worst enemies. All the expenses, and losses, and damages will be paid by the city or State, and only add so much more to taxes. Every workingman who talks about riots is preparing to lay more taxes on his own shoulders. Times were hard. Would they make them harder? The best way was to go to work, keep the wheels moving in all branches of business, and avoid everything that makes an unfriendly feeling with those who have all the risks of the business, both for themselves and for workingmen.

Turn away from bad advisers, and, above all, "*Don't unchain the tiger.*"

The meeting proved to be a very orderly and a very decent one. Mr. John Swinton, who is in point of education and culture entitled to the rank of leader of the New York Communists, made a speech characteristic of the man and the occasion. He said that gazing over a sea of honest and intelligent faces, gave him assurance that he was addressing no mob. "You are," said he, "as good as Henry Ward Beecher's congregation, and I think the comparison is rather in your favor. I think the Police Commissioners did well and wisely in permitting this meeting to take place, and Mayor Ely has won imperishable laurels by saying there was no power in the constitution to prevent a meeting like this from taking place. I speak to you in presence of eight thousand rifles and eight hundred clubs that cover you.

And now (here the speaker raised his voice to its loudest tones) what is this social volcano that has brought us here together,—this power that has one hundred thousand Americans and one billion dollars within its grasp ? ”

“ On one side,” continued the speaker, “ we see the movement of workingmen anxious only to restore the rate of wages to which they are justly entitled ; put back to where it was before the 1st of July ; and on the other hand we see the steady and relentless disposition on the part of capital to cut men’s wages down so low as to make life a choice between starvation and suicide. Glory to the militia who refused to fire on the strikers. (Great applause.) Glory to the Sixteenth Pennsylvania, that refused to be the accomplices of the murderers of the innocent men, women and children at Pittsburgh.

There were perhaps ten or twelve thousand persons present. The declarations coming from this meeting, were drawn by the ablest representatives of the Commune in the country, and are therefore to be regarded as the authoritative utterances of that element in America. For this reason they are reproduced here. They read as follows :

1. That the Workingmen’s Party of the city and county of New York tender their heartfelt sympathies to the railroad men now on a strike in different localities in the country.

2. That we consider all legalized charter corporations, such as railroad, banking, mining, manufacturing, gas, etc., under the present system of operation, as the most despotic and heartless enemies of the working classes. That their acts of tyranny and oppression have been the cause of demoralizing thousands of honest workingmen, thereby

driving them to acts of madness, desperation and crime that they would not otherwise have been guilty of had they been justly dealt by.

3. That as these chartered companies have been the primal cause of their employes' miseries and of their consequences, we hold them morally responsible for all acts of violence that proceed from and are the legitimate results of their tyranny and oppression.

4. That we view with alarm the growing influence and power of these corporations over the legislation of the State and nation, and believe if that influence continues, the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the government will become totally demoralized, the rights of the masses destroyed, and, instead of the voice of the people, the power of the almighty dollar will become absolute and supreme.

5. That we do earnestly request and advise all the working classes throughout the country to unite as speedily as possible for the purpose of forming a political party, based on the natural rights of labor. Let us make common cause against a common enemy. That nothing short of a political revolution, through the ballot box, on the part of the working classes will remedy the evils under which they suffer. That it is the purpose of the Workingmen's Party to confiscate, through legislation, the unjustly gotten wealth of these legalized and chartered corporation thieves that are backed by the Shylocks and moneyed syndicates of Europe and this country. That we love law and order, peace and tranquility, justice and righteousness above all else, and deprecate, anything and everything that will pervert them, and that we are ever ready to give our lives in defence of the inherited rights of man.

The meeting also moved an address to the President of the United States, which, because of the part this element is attempting to act in American politics, we place here in order all may know the spirit and purpose of the Internationalists.

TO RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, President of the United States :

SIR:—We, the workmen of the City of New York, in mass meeting assembled, acting from a sense of duty, and prompted by true feelings of humanity and a sincere desire for peace and harmony in society, do earnestly and respectfully call your attention to the serious condition of affairs now existing and which have existed for some time past, between the operatives and the officials of the mining and railroad corporations in several States of the Union. The crimson tide of the life blood of citizens, soldiers and hardy workmen, have already mingled in sanguinary strife. The heavens have been lit up with the lurid glare of incendiary fires that have reduced to ashes millions of property. Men have fallen beneath deadly blows dealt by unseen and unknown hands, until it seems that if evil days had fallen upon us as a nation. Three millions of the bone and sinew of the country converted into wandering vagabonds, and a large portion of those employed on the verge of starvation. Do these evils, that have assumed such magnitude and proportions as to necessitate the issuance of a proclamation on your part to preserve the peace, come within the scope or jurisdiction of national legislation? Whatever may be the cause of these evils, the only remedy applied so far has been the hangman's rope

and soldier's bullet. Think you, Mr. President, these are effectual and permanent remedies that will insure henceforth peace and good order in society? We think not. Whatever cause produces these antagonistic relations between employer and employe must be sought out and removed.

We address you, Mr. President, because you are one having great power and authority conferred upon you by the Constitution. You are Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States, and during the recess of Congress they are at your absolute disposition. Need we suggest to you the wisdom of extreme caution in the exercise of you national military power, lest the breach of the peace be widened, class feeling intensified and public safety more endangered? We think, Mr. President, that the situation of affairs is of such an important and alarming character that they justify on your part the immediate calling of an extra session of Congress. These terrible occurrences and disturbances between the employers and employes of mining and railroad companies that have startled and shocked the community of late, involve, as you well know, what is termed the relations between labor and capital. Many are of the opinion that any interference or action on the part of the government to adjust these relations are contrary and inimicable to the genius and spirit of modern civilization and republican institutions; that the function of the government is simply to prevent any violent collisions in society resulting from the antagonistic relations of these two elements performing such important functions in the affairs of human society, and that throughout the history of the world so far have been eternally at sword's points with each other.

LABOR IGNORED IN LEGISLATION.

Those who take this view of the matter seem to overlook the great fact that legislation has always dealt with at least one of these factors—namely, capital; and has almost entirely ignored the other—namely labor; which is, in our opinion, the primal cause of the present difficulties. Had legislation afforded the same opportunities and guaranteed the same rights and privileges to labor that it has to capital, these evil days would not have befallen us. When railroad kings can build palaces to live in costing millions, and others die bequeathing hundreds of millions to their children, and boast while living that they never troubled themselves about the election of representatives, but bought them up after they were elected, and used them as a means to enrich themselves at the expense of their employes and the general public, it seems about time to consider whether or not legislation cannot confer some justice and rights upon labor as well as privileges to capital.

We have always considered that law should be the synonym of justice. Has not Congress the power under the constitution to govern and control, for the benefit of the whole people, the high-ways, and water-courses of the nation, and regulate its internal commerce and trade? Is there any constitutional law that prohibits the State or general government from controlling or supervising the mineral resources of the nation? Should not also the telegraph system be connected with our postal department? and last, but not least, a government monetary system established that would supercede the present individual corporate banking institutions, that are noth-

ing more nor less than parasites on the body politic. All of these chartered institutions exist by a system of dividends of profits that proceed directly from the laboring classes. In their efforts to make those dividends, the blood and marrow are extracted from labor, until finally, maddened and desperate by the exacting tyranny of capital, rendered ignorant and brutish by poverty, it resorts to brute force and violence to redress its wrongs. It cannot be expected that men acting under the impetus of starvation should act wisely or well, or adhere to moral principle. The very individuals who are most loud in their denunciation of the acts of the strikers, placed in their situation, might do, possibly, if they had the courage, far worse.

We, as a class, view with alarm the growth and power of these gigantic corporations. Wielding thousands of millions of dollars capital as a power they are fast demoralizing and corrupting the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the governments of both State and nation; and the rights of labor and the liberties of the common people, if we continue on in this course, will soon be swept away, (and here let us state that W. M. Evarts, a member of your Cabinet, has recommended as a measure of political reform in this State the restriction of suffrage on a basis of a moneyed qualification, thereby offering a direct insult to every workingman in this State); and when they are gone, the revolution commences, and the emancipation of the white wages slaves of the North will cost the Republic more blood and treasure than ever the emancipation of the black chattle slaves of the South did, and God knows that cost enough.

• We look to you, Mr. President, to be vigilant in re-

spect to our interests and welfare, for the prosperity and perpetuity of this nation rests upon the principal of justice to labor. Class legislation is the ruin and eventual downfall of any nation. Hoping you will reply to us through the columns of the public press, expressing somewhat your views upon the situation,

We remain with great respect,

B. KAUFMAN,
G. WONTER,
A. WALSTER,
J. SCHWAB,
E. HALL,
LEANDER THOMPSON,

On behalf of the workingmen of the city of New York.

While the socialists were thus giving expression to opinions, at Tompkins Square, another class of workingmen had assembly at Battery Park, in vast numbers, and took part in an open air meeting which was held there, under the direction of Reverend William H. Acres. After a short discussion on a text from the Bible, Mr. Acres addressed the workingmen present as to their duty in this present crisis.

He began his remarks by deprecating, in the strongest language, the present contest between capital and labor, saying it would ultimately recoil upon the shoulders of the workingmen, who almost invariably had to suffer the brunt of such battles. He believed that the strike was a foolhardy proceeding, that it was exceedingly ill-timed, and had already caused the shedding of a great deal of innocent blood, and might yet, for all that then could

be said, cause the whole country to swim in rivers of gore. Men, he said, had entered the strike, some with the best of reasons, and some without any reason at all, but merely to give loose rein to the unruly passions within them. As far as these latter were concerned he felt convinced that the entire blame for the loss of life already occasioned, as well as the immense destruction of property that had been made, was solely attributed to their lawlessness, and he regretted that these offenders could not readily be called to account for their misdeeds. Mr. Acres then, in very feeling language, implored his auditors not to suffer themselves to be inveigled into any falsely styled sympathy with the present strike, and besought them to keep away from meetings gotten up during the present agitation. These, meetings, he said, were only forces which certain unprincipled men were using as a means to foist themselves upon notice in order that they might make political capital out of it. The projectors of the meeting which at that moment was convening in Tompkins Square, were not, according to his idea, honest and sincere men. He believed their object was to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the workmen of New York, and to gain a wide recognition of their abominably communistic doctrine, and he begged that all there, honest workingmen, would not give the slightest countenance to the movement.

Mr. Acres then made a very fervent prayer, during which he implored Heaven to protect the city of New York from the power of the ruthless men that were seeking to destroy its peace, that it would kindly extend its all-powerful aid to the police and help them to maintain order and quiet, and that it would soon cause the

present difficulties to melt away like snow before the beams of the sun.

The wisdom of the course pursued by the Mayor and Police Commissioners of New York, granting permission to hold a meeting was signally vindicated by the results of the Tompkins Square gathering.

From the beginning to the end of the meeting there was not the slightest exhibition of a dangerous purpose on the part of the people, and incendiary remarks, whether in English or German, fell upon the ear still-born. The orators had apparently lost heart. The stands were thronged by many boys, and there was an utter want of the vim and snap that characterizes an ordinary political meeting. It is not likely that all this result was due to the fact known to every person on the ground, that while not a policeman showed his uniform in the crowd, or invited the slightest antagonism, five hundred sturdy men, armed to the teeth, were within ear-shot, ready to sweep down on the instant, at any point where a disturbance might occur, and nearly a thousand more were in reserve waiting with ready hands to preserve peace and maintain the fair name of the metropolis. The utmost good nature prevailed, the sidewalks of the square rang with the cries of hucksters, women and children lined the steps of the adjacent houses, or innocently elbowed their way among the multitude, and faces generally wore anything but the expression of excitement or anxiety which might be expected to attach to the occasion.

Of the ten or twelve thousand thus assembled, probably not more than three thousand were actively identified with the trades unions and International societies,

and many of the former openly expressed their condemnation of the attempt of a few men to create further trouble and distress at this time. The bulk of the crowd was composed of people who curiously desired to see what was going on, and took good care to be sufficiently near the highways to make an early exit in case of a demonstration by the police or military. The beer-sellers of the neighborhood were evidently the only part of the community benefited by this "great" meeting, while the surgeons at the several stations, who doubtless expected an abundance of work, quickly folded away their probes and sticking plaster and laid down to pleasant dreams.

This meeting over, New York became quiet. About the armories the militia-men were enjoying life in a very agreeable manner. In two days afterwards the soldiers were dismissed, and the great Metropolis was restored to its wanted condition, happy in having escaped domestic convulsion during the great strikes.

CHAPTER XX.

AWAY FROM THE METROPOLIS.

Rochester's Wave of Trouble—A Slight Shock at Albany—Syracuse Seriously Threatened—Other Places Experience Some Uneasiness—The Conclusion of the Blockade at Hornellsville—The Empire State Comes Out of the Great Strikes Almost Unscathed.

The momentous occurrence of the days of the strikes overshadowed every other topic, and agitated the public mind to its profoundest depths. So sudden and terrible was the struggle between capital and labor—so widespread and so disastrous to some of the most gigantic railroads in the world—that the public mind was wholly unprepared for the events which took place, and the stoutest hearts were appalled at the scenes of arson, pillage and murder, which were enacted in two of the most prominent manufacturing cities in the country. The daily press was never more actively employed in gathering up the stirring news, and reporting fully the exciting events that occurred during those dark days, so that the public has been made familiar with all the details of the great and desperate struggle.

What this struggle was, every man, woman and child in the land understood, who was capable of reasoning. It is proper to show how this conflict was viewed, and however widely diversified opinions were expressed, in the main, the strikers enlisted a large share of public

sympathy. All overt acts, however, were severely condemned.

It has been noticed how quick the American people can emerge from a period of excitement. They not only allow the events of such a crisis to pass out of mind with remarkable celerity, but seem to abandon just as readily the theories and plans which absorbed their attention completely, during the entire time these were uppermost. Their passions subside so rapidly and completely that they become oblivious of the very nature of an exciting cause almost as soon as it has ceased to master them. This may be due to a trait of national character, or it may arise from the fact that no class among us have for any great length of time labored under the sense of an intolerable grievance. The American people are quick to forget and forgive. Those in the wrong generally own up when beaten, and the victors are willing to let the dead past bury its dead. But it is also quite as true that no considerable fraction of our citizens, as such, inherit the memory wrong and oppression systematically continued from one generation to another. It is only recently that any appreciable number of our people have been brought face to face with suffering not caused by themselves.

For these reasons we are inclined to believe that the causes which produced the turmoil of this year will leave a rankling source of future disorder behind it. The striking and disaffected railway employes will not forget that they avowed opinions, and entered upon a course subversive of the existing vicious system in the distribution of wealth—the production of labor. The general public will forgive the attack upon its peace,

when the principle on which that attack was based is discovered to be after all, in the main, correct. And then, perhaps, the whole community may become gradually pervaded by the idea that the question of wages is not alone one of supply and demand, but that in the long run the better paid, and consequently the more prosperous and intelligent laborers, are the better and more profitable workmen.

Some day the discussion must take place in regard to the proper adjustment of the relations between those who have hands to produce, and those who have brains to accumulate all the hands can make. There is an ethical side to the question, and it would be well for the country—well for the interests of humanity, if men can come with earnest minds and right purposes to the discussion of the subject. It seemed that the working men, actuated by more wisdom than characterized some of their class, resolved to await the solution of the question by discussion, so far as the great State of New York was concerned. They did well.

The freight conductors, firemen, and brakemen at East Syracuse struck on the 24th, and sent a despatch to William H. Vanderbilt, announcing the fact, and declaring they would not resume work until their pay was restored to the amount received prior to July 1st, 1877.

The mechanics at East Syracuse, numbering one hundred also struck. Six hundred freight cars, seventy engines, and forty trains of freight were embargoed at East Syracuse. The strikers detailed a force of their own men to guard and protect the property of the Company.

The strikers were very quiet. They warned all outsiders, tramps, and Communists to keep away from

them, declaring they were competent to manage their own business.

At East Syracuse passenger trains were stopped by the strikers on the 25th, but afterwards were allowed to start. Mail cars had been placed at the rear of trains, and as the other cars could not be detained without interfering with the mails, the trains were allowed to pass on. An effort to cause a general strike at Syracuse during the day was not successful. Eight companies of the Forty-eighth Regiment, N. G., arrived from Oswego, and were quartered at the State Armory.

Passenger trains were running on the Oswego, Syracuse and Binghampton branch of the Delaware and Lackawanna Road. No freight was received at Syracuse. President Sloan, of the Delaware and Lackawanna Road, and Superintendent Priest, of the Central Road, caused to be served notices on the Sheriff of Onondaga County, and Mayor of Syracuse, of molestations and apprehended troubles. The local authorities perfected a strong organization to suppress any outbreak.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the whole country, that among the working masses of the great State of New York, their grievances were not of a character to induce, or compel them to go into the strikes which pervaded the greater part of the Union. There was a time, however, during the troublous days, when it appeared as if the great laboring masses of the Empire State were on the point of rising, and with the might of their numbers still further complicate matters and endanger the political and social institutions of the country. In the interior cities of the State, outside the great Metropolis, there were a number of marked manifestations of dis-

quiet. The first trouble occurred at Rochester, where at one time the railroad men held a meeting and sent a committee to confer with Mr. Vanderbilt, and decided to await a definite answer from him as to the rescinding of the ten per cent. reduction order, before taking action. But there was so few of them as compared with other places, that, without reinforcements from outside, the chances were against serious disturbance. A hard looking gang went down from Buffalo, on the 22d, but the police overawed them. One young man was arrested and locked up for 'inciting to a breach of the peace, and the night passed without any act of violence. All the companies of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Rochester, were held in readiness for service at the shortest warning. Early the morning of the 23d, Gedde's cooper shop was burned; the fire was charged to the coopers on strike.

From Monday, the 23d, no trains went west of Rochester, except over the Falls branch. Tuesday the Blue Line freight train went over the Falls road under police guard. An engine and tender went from Buffalo to Rochester the 23d.

The Albany Burgess Corps, an independent company, was ordered out the 23d. The Ninth Brigade, General Dicherman, was reported ready to proceed to Rochester at a moment's notice. The strikers at West Albany sent a message that they would not allow troops to pass over the road. The strikers were in immense numbers on the tracks between Albany and West Albany, and stopped all freight trains on the 23d of July. The strikers presented a picturesque appearance, scattered along the road on either side of the track, the women and children

carrying their noon meal, and all sitting down enjoying it, while others were racing with hand cars and singing songs. One thousand men from the Albany Railroad shops joined the strike, and proceeded towards Albany. Governor Robinson, Mayor Banks and Chief of Police Malory, held a consultation at the Executive Chamber, on the 24th, to devise plans of operation to preserve the peace. The Tenth Regiment was ordered to Rochester the same day.

The Central Railroad officials notified the Sheriff of Albany county that they looked to the county authorities to protect the Company's property at West Albany. Most of the rolling stock there had been sent away in advance of the strike, and twenty-three engines went on to Buffalo on Sunday, to help in moving the cattle cars. But the shops, barns, cattle sheds, and material remained. The authorities were hopeful that there would be no violence. The strike of one thousand men employed at West Albany was brought about by a visit of a delegation. An additional supply of ammunition was received at the State Arsenal, which was well guarded. Some excitement was caused by a report that roughs were gathering in force near the Watervliet Arsenal, between Albany and West Troy.

The strikers forced the men in the Central depot freight house, on Water street, the roundhouse, and elevator, to quit work; when the men objected they were taken by the shoulder and thrust out. On State street the Citizen's Corps, of Troy, were met marching to the armory of the Tenth Regiment. The crowd hissed the soldiers but did not attack them.

On the 25th of July, Governor Robinson, from the

Executive office at Albany, issued a proclamation, in which he invited the special attention of all the citizens of the State, and especially of such persons as were attempting to interfere with the running of railroad trains, to the provision of an act of the Legislature, passed last year, which provides, "That any person who shall willfully place any obstruction upon any railroad, or loosen, tear up, or remove any part of a railroad, or displace, tamper, or in any way interfere with any switches, frogs, rail, track, or other part of any railroad, so as to endanger the safety of any train, or who shall willfully throw any stone, or any other missile, at any train or any railroad, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment in a State prison, not exceeding ten years, or be liable to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

The Governor warned all persons engaged in the violation of the law to desist therefrom, and he called upon all Sheriffs, Magistrates, District Attorneys, and other civil officers, and upon all good citizens to aid in the enforcement of the law, and secure the punishment of all who were guilty of its violation, and he offered a reward of five hundred dollars, to be paid upon the arrest and conviction of each and every person who should be found guilty of a violation of the act. The failure or omission of any Sheriff, District Attorney, or other civil officer to take the most active steps in his power to enforce the provisions of the act was declared to be a sufficient cause for his removal.

At Albany the crisis was passed on the 25th. That morning the workmen resumed operations in the railroad shops and yards, and freight trains were despatched.

The military, under the command of General Carr, embracing the Ninth and Tenth Regiments of National Guards, with the Albany Jackson Corps, and the Citizens' Corps. of Troy, protected the road and held the streets of the Capital in quiet.

A striker in Albany was not to be found. An attempt was made to hold a meeting within the lines of General Carr's Division, at West Albany, but by the sudden onslaught of six companies of the Ninth Regiment, the workingmen were dispersed. It was remarked that there was no interference with a meeting of capitalist held the same day. The strikers had gone to a portion of the line between Albany and Schenectady, where they could overhaul trains without fear of the military. Nobody believed that the rioters had permanently dispersed.

At the Adjutant-General's office, at Albany, business was excessively brisk about this time. The Adjutant-General was superintending the movement of troops which was going on with the expedition that might be expected from regulars. The promptitude of commandants and commissaries was something worthy of commendation. The troops were posted where they could best suppress disorders. The promptness of the Governor and the Adjutant-General had so far prevented violence and bloodshed.

Early in the morning of the 25th, the Ninth Regiment, accompanied by General Carr and staff, proceeded by special train to West Albany, where there had been a sort of blockade. It had been feared from the operations of the previous night that an attempt would be made to prevent the despatch of freight and other busi-

ness at that point. It was well-known that the men who crossed the river at East Albany, to prevent the passage of the Ninth Regiment, on Tuesday evening, were only too ready to act in concert with any malcontents in that vicinity, and, moreover, a mass meeting of strikers had adjourned to meet there at nine o'clock in the morning. West Albany was considered a vantage ground, and there it was expected the most hostile demonstration would be made; therefore, the concentration of troops at that point was decided to be of vital importance.

General Carr and Colonel Hitchcock had a council of war during the night, and decided to occupy and hold West Albany depot. Accordingly, the Ninth, after sleeping on the soft side of pine planks in Martin's Hall, turned out, unrefreshed, at daybreak, and formed on Broadway. The men had a good breakfast, marched to the depot and embarked. The Regiment, with General Carr and staff, arrived at West Albany before seven o'clock. The train was stopped and the men alighted, and by column it was countermarched along to the bridge and crossed to the depot, half a mile distant. Beneath the bridge the Ninth rested. General Carr made his headquarters at the railroad station.

The Tenth Regiment, of Albany, four hundred men, arrived soon after, commanded by Colonel Amasa J. Parker, Jr.

The first train moved west at a quarter to twelve A. M., and about the time the Citizen's Guard, of Troy, appeared, as did also crowds of sulky people. These, however, did not interfere with transit, and during the day trains went east and west without let or hinderance.

Early in the afternoon the pickets south came in, and

reported riotous demonstrations in that direction. Instantly the Ninth was in line, moving down the track. General Carr and Colonel Hitchcock were in advance, and Carr's son was the sentry on the left front, where some excited men were assembled. A slight movement of some of these fellows led young Carr to think that his father's life was menaced.

"Stop," said he to the men, "the first man that attempts to hurt him," pointing to his father, "I will shoot him on the spot."

He brought his piece to his hip as he spoke, and the men quickly got out of his way, whereat the young hero chuckled.

Meanwhile Colonel Hitchcock's and Parker's men had cleared the bridge and roadways without difficulty, and the rioters south retired without doing any mischief.

An attempt to fire the railway bridge over the Neversink river, situated one-half mile east of the Erie Depot, in Port Jervis, was made on the night of the 24th. Precautionary measures were taken by the Company at the commencement of the disturbances, and an increased number of watchmen were stationed at the bridge. This fact undoubtedly saved it from destruction, as a five-gallon can of kerosene was discovered under the bridge, placed in such a position that its ignition would have carried the flames to the woodwork of the bridge.

It was supposed that the incendiaries became alarmed before the completion of their arrangements, and thinking they were discovered, fled, leaving the oil behind them. The guards at that point were increased, and there was no further trouble.

A spirit of maliciousness developed itself that was

not manifested at the outbreak of the troubles. Rails were torn up, and obstructions of every conceivable kind placed on the track. Along the Delaware Division of the Erie, several attempts to wreck trains were made, but additional watchmen were employed, and but little damage was done. An extra engine was despatched ahead of trains to see if the track was all right, and they ran at a less rate of speed than usual.

On the engines of the trains passing through the turbulent section of the country, sharpshooters were placed, and they were ready for any emergency. At all stations a force of Sheriff's deputies were on hand on the arrival of trains, ready to check any riotous movement.

On the 25th, a hundred firemen on the Easton and Delaware divisions of the Erie were ready and anxious for a strike; an equal, or perhaps a larger number, were opposed to one; more than this, they refused to give it the least encouragement, asserting that regardless of the action of the Brotherhood, or of any other class of employes, they would continue to attend to their duty. Of those belonging to the Order a majority were undoubtedly in favor of a strike. The Brotherhood met every night, and though the men were pledged to secrecy, and every possible effort was made to prevent the railway officials from obtaining accurate reports from the organization, disclosing the result of their deliberations, the meetings became disorderly in the extreme, violent language was used, and recriminations and charges of unfaithfulness to the Order were of common occurrence. Representatives from abroad made inflammatory speeches urging the Brotherhood to action, but the more prudent ones saw the folly of striking, unless there was unity among the men.

Donahue, the leader of the strikers at Hornellsville, and five others were arrested on the 25th, and placed in irons, and the strikers were much depressed.

A settlement of the difficulties seemed near at hand. The strikers made propositions to Receiver Jewett, agreeing to surrender, conditioned only that they be granted immunity from punishment for the mischief they had done. This the railroad officials declined, as they were determined to make no concessions, and had resolved to prosecute to the end every violator of the law. But this determination was subsequently changed. Through the earnestness and zeal of the attorneys for the strikers, the Company was induced to accept the proposition of the strikers, as the very best thing that could be done, and on that basis the Hornellsville troubles were disposed of. Business was resumed on the Erie at Hornellsville, at six o'clock on the morning of the 26th. The yard was rapidly cleared of the blockade of trains; the late strikers were working with a will, and the leaders declared that their settlement would be the death-blow to the strikers on the other trunk roads. Regular passenger trains left Hornellsville for New York, Buffalo, and Dunkirk almost on time. The managers of the strike there were in communication with those of the strikes elsewhere, and were using their best efforts to bring about a discontinuance of their rebellion against their respective companies. General Howard and General Superintendent Bower left for New York. Assistant Receiver Sherman, Chief Engineer Chanute, and Mr. MacFarland, the Company's Attorney, were still at Hornellsville, completing details of the settlement, and directing the opening of business. The utmost

good feeling prevailed; only a few chronic malcontents, who had nothing to lose, and everything to win by the strike, were expressing any dissatisfaction with the result.

The Seventy-fourth Regiment, of Buffalo, and the Fifty-fourth, of Rochester, were ordered home. The military guard was removed from the Company's property, and the employes had full charge. The Twenty-third Regiment was awaiting orders. Bands of music paraded the streets amid popular demonstrations of rejoicing over the result. The amicable settlement was due to the sound counsel of Horace Bemis and Miles W. Hawley, attorneys of the late strikers, which more than anything led to the conciliatory and magnanimous spirit in which their propositions were met by the Company. Trains were soon running regularly between New York and Salamanca, and Dunkirk.

A train with the Seventy-fourth Regiment on board, went to Buffalo. General Superintendent Bowen and Attorney MacFarland left on the same train. Assistant General Superintendent Chanute remained in charge at Hornellsville.

The troops still remained in camp at West Albany, to the number of twelve hundred, on the 27th, but the strike was at an end. The strikers held another meeting in Capital Park during the evening. It was chiefly remarkable for the earnestness with which the speakers denounced the outside element that had brought them into disrepute. After appointing an Executive Committee to transact all the future business of the strikers, it was resolved not to hold any more public meetings. The petition, which the Mayor was to have circulated for

signatures, asking rates paid before the reduction made on July 1, was not circulated. At the meeting held the evening of the 27th, the chairman of the Committee appointed to look after the petition, when asked what had been done, could not explain why no action had been taken. The shops were still closed at West Albany, with the exception of the Wagner Drawing Room Car Shops, but the Railroad officials said the road could be operated for six months without employing a mechanic.

Governor Robinson, accompanied by Adjutant-General Townsend and General Tracey, reviewed the troops in camp at West Albany, on the 27th. The next day he reviewed them on Pearl street, Albany. They did not again return to camp. Assistant Adjutant-General Taylor figured up the cost of moving and maintaining the troops in the State since the commencement of the strike. He placed the expense at about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The allowance under the law is at the rate of sixteen dollars a month. The Ninth Regiment left on the 28th for New York. It was not deemed wise to move all the troops away at once. It was apprehended that serious trouble might result if such a course was pursued. Some stones were thrown at a train on the 27th, in a cut, near Albany, but no one was hurt.

During the evening of the 27th, orders were issued from the Adjutant-General's office, to the Division Commanders, to disband their forces. The strike was regarded as at an end. No further trouble was anticipated in New York State, and none occurred.

CHAPTER XXI.

ONWARD THROUGH OHIO.

Events in the Buckeye State—An Ugly Mob at Columbus—Marching Around and “Shutting Manufactories Down”—Festive Firemen at Collingswood—Marching Though Zanesville—The Breeze at Newark—Cincinnati's Fortunate Escape—A Mayor Harmless but Wise—He Talks Kindly to the Strikers—And They Hear Him Gladly—Trouble at Toledo.

At Cincinnati, an uneasy, restless feeling was prevalent among the officers of the railroads centering there, although no strike had been yet inaugurated, on the 20th. The Ohio and Mississippi men were waiting for the pay-car, which passed East on the road the following Monday, when they struck. The car started from St. Louis, and that was where trouble was first anticipated. The Ohio and Mississippi Railway is the Western outlet of the Baltimore and Ohio. On the Marietta and Cincinnati road, the intermediate connection of the Baltimore and Ohio, no trouble occurred, and the personal popularity of General Superintendent Peabody was very great. The Erie connection there—from Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton road—notified their men of a reduction, but on the demand of the employes, the order of reduction was subsequently rescinded. There had been no trouble on the Pan-Handle road west of Pittsburgh. The Cincinnati, Louisville and Lexington Railroad Company notified their men of a reduction of ten

per cent., to take effect immediately, but the order was not carried out.

On the 22d, the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company acceded to the demand of their employes, and thus withdrew a large number of men from the forces of the strikers.

The Little Miami Railway Company did the same thing. The action taken by the managers of these railroad companies was of immense service to the authorities in preserving the piece and upholding the laws in Cincinnati. The withdrawal of so many men from the strike, cured the enthusiasm of a vast number of sympathizers. The moral effect was of incalculable value to the friends of law and order at that critical juncture. It turned the scales against riots in Cincinnati.

The situation on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad assumed a more serious aspect on the 23d. All trains, both passenger and freight, were blocked. Only postal cars were allowed to leave the yards. Strikers were posted at Storr's Station, a short distance from Cincinnati, and determined no train should leave that city.

A deputation waited upon Superintendent Graves that day, but received no satisfactory assurance. Nine engines and trains of freight cars were abandoned along the road.

Mayor Moore issued a proclamation, wherein, after reciting the accounts of disturbances at Pittsburgh and other points, he commended the example of the citizens of Cincinnati as creditable to her people, and felt assured it would result to the General and individual good of all citizens of Cincinnati.

The serious nature of the difficulties between the railroad companies and their employes induced Governor Young, of Ohio, to issue a proclamation, which he did, the document reading as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. }
COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 25, 1877. }

TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO:—

Owing to the troubles existing between Railroad Companies and their employes, great excitement exists throughout the State. Of this unfortunate state of affairs lawless and disreputable persons are taking advantage, and endangering life and property. The civil authorities, State, county and municipal, as well as the military, must and will everywhere exert their power to enforce the law in every respect. The good name of our people demands that this shall be done, and in no other way can the order which is absolutely necessary to public and private safety be maintained.

To avert all danger, and in order to successfully meet all resistance to thorough execution of the law, I hereby call on law-abiding men in all our cities, towns and villages to tender their services to their respective civil authorities, and under their direction and control organize themselves into a volunteer police force sufficiently strong to overawe the lawless elements.

I confidently expect all good men will respond promptly and cheerfully to this call.

THOMAS L. YOUNG, Governor.

At Cincinnati, on the 25th, no grain was moved from the elevators, and several manufactories had stopped

work in consequence of inability to ship their goods. The employes of the Wabash Railway at that point did not join the strike.

At a large meeting of railroad men held the night of the 25th, a desire was expressed by the speakers that railroad and all other property should be protected. No attempts were made to interfere with the workmen in factories, mills, &c., but apprehensions were felt that such an action might be resorted to during the trouble.

Order was restored permanently in Cincinnati in a comparatively brief time after the first manifestations of the strike. The action of the railroad employes in tendering their services to protect railroad property and secure the moving of passenger trains, left malicious abettors bent upon extreme measures without a footing. Passenger trains were sent out on the Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, guarded by railroad men, each train having four or six well armed men on the engine, and two or four on the platforms. The Miami passenger trains arrived and departed on time as usual. Another evidence of the wisdom of making concessions. Trains on the Cincinnati and Marietta road also run regularly.

No through freight trains were moved on any of the roads. Passenger trains were uninterrupted on all the roads running into Cincinnati, except the Ohio and Mississippi.

The railroad men were generally among the best friends of law and order at Cincinnati. Many trains, both freight and passenger, were running, and only on the Ohio and Mississippi was there complete blockade. There was a fortunate and complete absence of interference by the Federal authorities. A feature of the close

of the strike—or rather the failure to get up one there—was the outpouring of tramps, noticed by all incoming railroaders. The walkers had evidently found that it was healthier for their class elsewhere.

At Collinswood, on the Lake Shore road, in Ohio, on the 25th, a large body of strikers had gathered, and the men were in constant communication with their fellows in Buffalo and Cleveland. Everything was quiet and orderly, but the men seemed to be determined to carry their point. For miles up on the side tracks, freight cars stood as closely together as possible, and much of the freight of a perishable nature spoiled. In certain instances permission was given parties in Cleveland and elsewhere to cart it away, but subsequently a resolution was passed that no more freight be interfered with. The feeling was very bitter against nearly all the officers of the road. A conference was had between the committee of the strikers and General Manager, John Newell. Mr. Newell told the men that he could do nothing directly for them, but that he would use his influence with President Vanderbilt in their favor. Among the men, there was a certain element becoming very impatient at the delay, and the question was often asked, with considerable earnestness, how much longer they were expected to restrain themselves peaceably. The three hundred car loads of cattle and hogs were all unloaded and cared for in pens. Meanwhile the men were devoting themselves to social festivities. Dances were held in the station house, the men designating those who were to act as ladies by tying handkerchiefs around their arms. The ladies of the village gave the men a picnic dinner under the trees of the beautiful grove near

the station, after which a large number of speeches were made by the men, all of whom counseled moderation, and an entire abandonment of the saloons. It was held that public sympathy and support would continue with them just so long as they behaved like men.

During the morning of the 23d, at Zanesville, Ohio, two thousand men assembled in front of the new hotel being built under contract for J. B. Townsend, and commanded the men working on the building to quit work, which they did; and they also assembled in front of the court-house, where the crowd was addressed by Henry Blandy, who counseled moderation, and told them to look to the Democratic Convention for consolation. After the speech large crowds marched to the different manufacturing places in the city, compelling the men to quit work. They also waited on Townsend & Burgess, proprietors of the street railway, compelling them to haul off the street cars. Mayor McGowan requested that saloons be closed. No further violence was attempted. In all, about fifty manufacturing establishments were forced to close.

Two consultation meetings were held by the Lake Shore Railway strikers in Cleveland, on the 25th, and their organization further perfected. It was decided not to molest the workmen of the Cleveland, Columbus Cincinnati and Indianapolis Railroad, who had resumed, nor to interfere with workmen in the manufactories of the city. Special precautions were taken to prevent the tramps and other persons having no right there, from joining the strikers in any way. Great care was taken to protect railway property. A few passenger trains on the Cleveland and Pittsburgh were run some distance down the

line. Delegations of Lake Shore men twice talked with General Manager Newell, without result.

The Lake Shore shop men held meetings, and adopted measures to secure the co-operation of all the shops on the line between Buffalo and Cleveland, and were sustained in it by the shop hands of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Indianapolis Railroadmen, who were at work on a compromise. The trackmen were firm, and fully sustained the shops. Strikers from Toledo and Cleveland closed the Newark shops on the 25th of July.

A large open-air meeting was held at Crestline, Ohio, on the evening of the 25th, which was addresssd by the Mayor, Manuel Wray, of Mansfield, and others. The addresses were full of sympathy for the strikers in their just demands, and extolling their orderly conduct, while deploring the stagnation brought on the country. One train a day only, was run over the Fort Wayne Road after that date.

The railroad strike caused some excitement on the Cincinnati, Mount Vernon and Columbus Railroad. The through freight trains were abandoned. The railroad bridge at Killbuck, five miles south of Millersburg, Ohio, was fired by tramps, causing some delay, but not much damage. The employes were very anxious for the restoration of their wages prior to June 1st.

About noon on the 25th, the railroad strikers at Columbus, Ohio, to the number of three hundred, went to the rolling-mill, and compelled the employes to suspend work. They also went to many other factories, the employes of which joined the strikers as they went along. The entire crowd also had dinners with them, and to the

number of two thousand, they proceeded to the Union Depot, where they dined. There was no other violence. General Manager Caldwell, of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis road, had ordered all shops closed, and the suspension of all business, except such as was necessary to keep the passenger trains moving. No interference was offered such trains.

No passenger trains left on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that day. The Hocking Valley trackmen quit the morning of the 25th. The same evening the shopmen joined in the strike. Quiet reigned at the Newark yards, which was under the control of the troops. No attempt was made to move trains on account of the blockaded condition of the tracks. Passenger trains were also delayed. Strikers were distributed at different points along the road.

The Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis striking firemen and brakemen were emphatic in denouncing the action of the mob in closing up business establishments. While they were firm in the purpose of maintaining a strike, and preventing the running of freight trains, they utterly repudiated all riotous, incendiary, and lawless proceedings, and promised to do all in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and prevent a repetition of their excesses. The strikers were thoroughly organized, and determined not to yield. They declared that they could not live upon their present compensation, and the men were discharged if they created a debt. The strikers resolved not to countenance any drunkenness or violence by any of their number.

At a meeting of the Lake Shore men, at Cleveland, on the 26th, a Committee from the Cleveland, Colum-

bus, Cincinnati and Indianapolis shops was present, and asked whether it was the wish of the strikers that they continue work on the terms offered by President Devereux. This Committee further offered to pool their earnings for the assistance of other strikers, if thought necessary. A vote of thanks was passed by the strikers for this offer, after which it was voted that the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and Indianapolis men keep on with their work. A Committee was then appointed to visit Norwalk, Buffalo and Erie, and confer with the men there. The Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and Indianapolis, and the Atlantic and the Great Western roads were accordingly doing their full business all through the strikes.

The following proposition was circulated, and generally signed, by the striking railroad men, at Columbus, Ohio, on the 27th of July:

If we should succeed in getting our demands, we should like to know if our fellow railroad men throughout the land will go in with us to agree to deprive themselves of a small sum, say thirty-five or fifty cents per month, to pay the citizens of Pittsburgh for their losses in the late fire, caused by the hot-headedness of parties not directly interested in the strike, the whole to be placed in the hands of the United States Treasurer, with the privilege of using the same at a small rate of interest, and all over and above the sum sufficient to pay the losses of said citizens to be divided among the railway reading-rooms throughout the country.

Hoping you will cause this to be circulated throughout the country, we have the honor to be your most obedient servants,

(Signed.)

COMMITTEE.

Governor Young notified the military at Columbus, and four companies at Newark, on the 27th, to go home, but hold themselves in readiness to be again called into service at a moment's notice. One company was left at Newark. The Sheriff of Pike County telegraphed from Waverly for militia, and the Adjutant-General ordered a company from Zanesville to Waverly. The call for troops was occasioned by a strike on the Narrow-gauge railway.

A meeting of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad employes, Columbus, Chicago and Indiana Central division, was held at Goodale Park, Columbus, at which resolutions were adopted reaffirming the resolutions adopted at a meeting held on the 24th, wherein the restoration of wages of 1874 was demanded, and a determination was expressed not to resume work until the demand was complied with.

The strikers themselves, except in a few isolated cases, refrained from indulgence in strong drink, and were the upholders of good order and the law, in every particular, except to the running of trains. Taken as a measure of the character of men who run the American railways, the strikers revealed them as a class far above the average of workmen in this country or in Europe. Some of them betrayed the possession of remarkable executive ability.

During the morning of the 27th, at Cincinnati, when a train was about to start on the Hamilton and Dayton road, a crowd gathered and prepared to prevent the train from going out. There were quite a number of the would-be rioters, but word was sent to the special police; a party of them came upon the scene, and the crowd vanished from the vicinity.

Later the same day, a striking example was offered of the effect of resolution in an individual in times of excitement and peril. A freight train was moving out on the Dayton Short Line, when a crowd gathered and stopped it, forcing the engineer, by threats, to bring the train to a stand-still. At this juncture a looker-on, an ex-railroad man, became irritated beyond control, and resolved to send that train out himself. He asked the engineer if he wanted to go out, and was answered in the affirmative. Then he stepped forward, a revolver in his hand, and announced to the crowd that he would kill the first man offering to stop the train again. The train left the depot safely with only that one audacious man with a revolver as a guard to protect it.

The strikers at Cincinnati became the worst foes of all against the roughs, who had joined in their meetings. A curious circumstance added to the animosity. At one of the meetings held, the thieves picked the pockets of the strikers, as well as of other people; a prominent engineer lost a fine gold watch. This circumstance opened his eyes to the difference between a striker and a plunderer.

At a meeting of the Hamilton and Dayton employes, held on the 27th, considerable confusion arose among them, as to whether they were all to be considered strikers. It was certain that freight trains went out on the Dayton Short Line, the Hamilton and Dayton, and the Marietta lines. Upon the other roads, with the exception of the Ohio and Mississippi, the passenger trains went out, and arrangements were made to allow of at least a limited handling of freight. The strikers on different roads showed a want of inclination to exercise arbitrary control in the matter.

The pressure of public opinion at Cincinnati was in favor of a resumption of the old higher wages paid railroad employes ; but the sentiment was also quite general that trains should be again moving regularly before terms were made. Cincinnati held herself more independent in expressing opinions in this respect, than some other cities, since there was no danger of famine, the river route and three railroad lines remaining open for the transportation of breadstuffs, and the coal supply being abundant.

At one of the depots in Cincinnati, while the police were pushing back the crowd which pressed forward too closely upon the track, one big burly fellow, half-resisting, exclaimed : " Well, if we can't look on here, we can go and burn something anyhow." He was promptly taken to the station, and others, who ventured to express opinions similar to his, were treated as summarily. The incident is given merely to illustrate the sentiment that prevailed, with the confidence coming from a well organized protective force, and the disposition that existed to mingle no maudlin sympathy with a sense of justice towards all.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th of July, a large crowd, composed of laborers, stevedores, and all classes of workingmen, assembled at the United States Hotel, on Ottawa street, Toledo, Ohio. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions expression the sentiment of those present. The committee reported resolutions, " That every laboring man and mechanic should ask reasonable recompense for his labor, on this basis : Mechanics from \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day, and laborers \$1.50 per day ; that every laboring man and mechanic join the railroad men who had struck ; that their object was

alone to obtain certain rights wrenched from them by the combination of capital, and that as soon as their object was attained, then the organized movement was to be abandoned, but not till then; that, in order to secure all persons and their property from violence, as well as the protection of themselves, they recommended the appointment of a Committee of Safety, to consist of one member from each branch of each labor union, which had or might hereafter join them in the movement."

Mayor William W. Jones, being called upon for a speech, responded by saying that he had been requested to make some remarks to the assemblage, who were there to ascertain what they were going to do in the present situation of things. For them to march around and ask that wages be increased to a fair living price, was all very proper. He was there as the representative of all classes. He was elected Mayor of the city by all classes. As such an officer it was his duty to see that the rights of both classes were respected, and it was the duty of all to preserve their own self-respect. The troubles which were upon them were phases of the great labor question which always troubled and would be a puzzle to the best minds in the land. As to the cities, the trouble was that there were too many laborers. Excessive competition in labor had forced the prices down below the living standard. But the poor man cannot be driven to the country, for he has no farm, and perhaps cannot find work there if he try ever so hard. It is this condition of things that the railroads have taken advantage of, to put down the laborers, until they had taken the matter of redress into their own hands. No doubt that the railroads would have to

yield to the cause of the strikers. They would have to come down. It should be borne in mind that an unyielding position on their part, such as was reported of a railroad president, (Mr. Vanderbilt), would result in defeating all demands for an increase of wages, and they might as well go about some other business at once. Now he was opposed to them going about in a body that day to make men quit work. He said that nobody was going to starve as long as he was Mayor of the city. There was no conflict between labor and capital, and there was a wide sympathy with the strikers and labor inadequately paid. It was a God-given right to every man to have employment that he may have food for his wife and children. But all classes had rights in the community, to be respected, and there was a liability in excitement to commit acts which they would be sorry for. As the Chief Magistrate of the city it was his duty to frown down all lawlessness. He therefore hoped that in whatever demonstrations they might make, there would be no excesses, and that they would go gently about it.

At the conclusion of the Mayor's remarks, the crowd formed a line, it being announced that they would first go the whole length of Water street to the Pennsylvania depot, and then through the manufacturing districts, notifying all the establishments to stop work at once. This plan was followed out, and the crowd proceeded from place to place, gaining strength as it proceeded, in ordering the employes of lumber yards, mills and founderies to stop work.

A call for a mass meeting of citizens, at eight o'clock in the evening, was issued by the Mayor, early in the

day, and in pursuance thereof, an immense crowd assembled in the market place at that hour. Mayor Jones presided, and after addresses by several citizens, a resolution was adopted, calling on the Mayor to appoint a committee to consist of twenty persons from each ward, to take measures for the preservation of peace and the protection of property. The meeting was composed largely of the discontented element, representatives of which took possession of the stand and proceeded to address the crowd, and the meeting finally broke up in confusion and disorder.

At ten o'clock in the evening the city was comparatively quiet, though the excitement among all classes was intense. The elevators were all closed. The banks declined any advance on bills of lading, and the commercial as well as the manufacturing business of the city was at a standstill.

A committee of twenty-five employes of the Wabash road arrived there from Fort Wayne and Lafayette, and held a consultation with Manager Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins informed them that he was willing to pay what was reasonable. The next day the city had become very quiet. Saloons remained closed, in accordance with the order issued by the Mayor. The police, the day before, arrested James Turner, the acknowledged leader of the Wednesday movement, and lodged him in the county jail. Other arrests followed rapidly, and at Toledo, most of the ringleaders of the mob were secured. About five hundred prominent citizens met at the Court House, Toledo, Thursday morning, and were supplied with arms and ammunition. Business was generally suspended during the forenoon, and members of leading

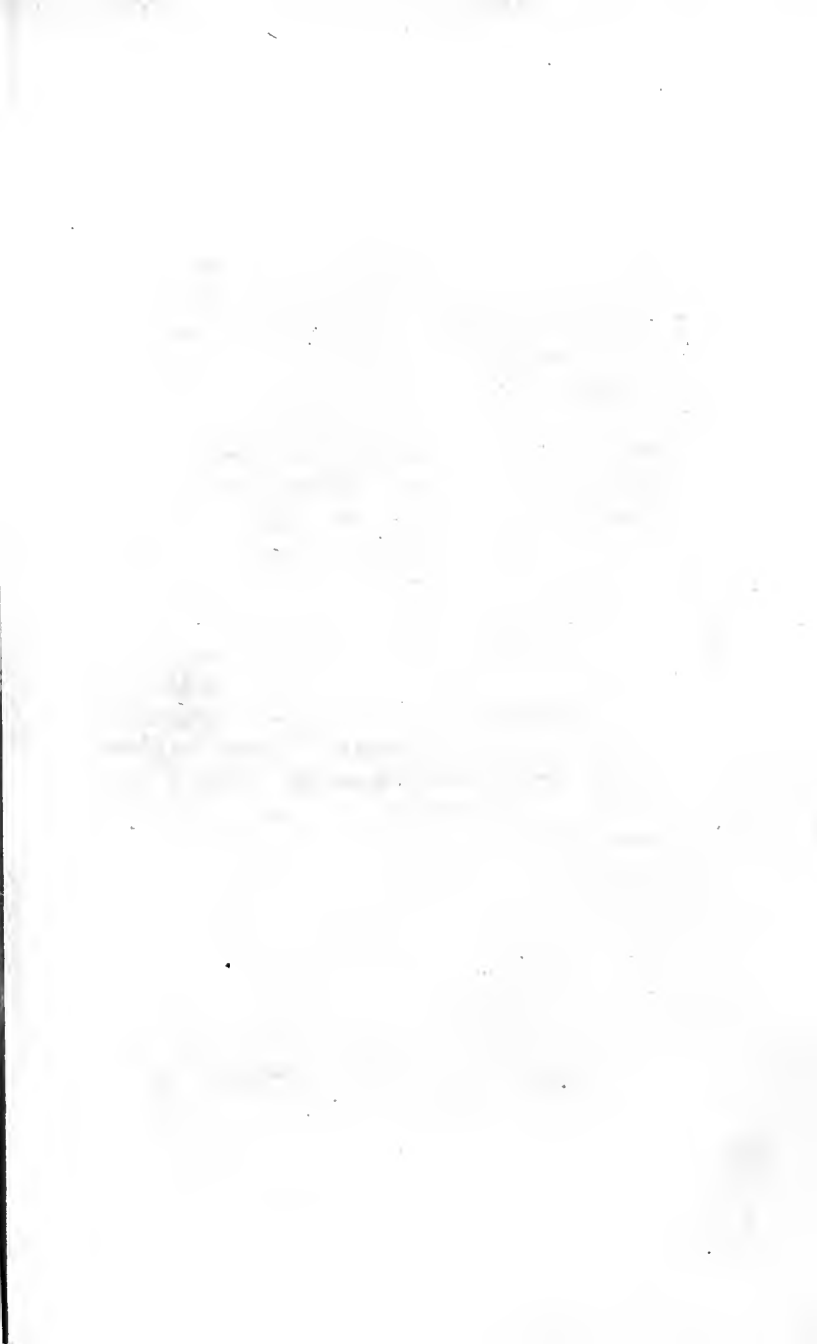
firms throughout the city reported for duty at the Court House. Mayor Jones issued a proclamation in which he recited the fact that certain riotous demonstrations had been made in the streets, interfering with citizens who were engaged in lawful occupation, for the purpose of interrupting the work, and damaging business; therefore the Mayor of the city, warned all persons engaged in exciting riotous proceedings, or interfering with labor or business, to desist from such practices, or from congregating in crowds upon the streets to discuss the situation or promote disorder; and that in order more fully to promote a peaceful situation, the police were directed to close the places where ardent spirits were sold, and to arrest all persons found violating the law, or in any manner interfering with the rights of the citizens or the laborers. He gave the assurance that all law-abiding and all laboring men, and those employing laborers, should be protected in their lawful occupation to the extent of exhausting the civil powers of the constituted authorities of the city.

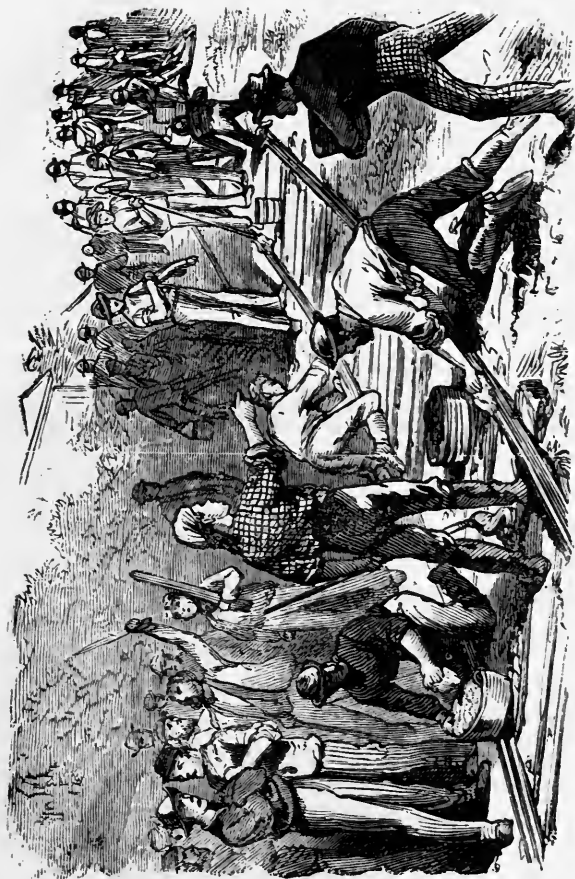
The expiring spasm of the great strikes in Ohio, occurred at Columbus on the 28th of July, when the Mayor, at the head of a squad of twenty police, marched to the freight yard for the purpose of sending out a train. At the depot they were met by three companies of military, who were passing through the city on their way home from Newark. They were invited to remain in the city until the train went out, which they did.

The train was made up in the midst of an immense crowd of people. The strikers stood around and put forward every inducement to the crew to abandon the train, offering the engineer one hundred dollars in cash, to quit the engine, but to no effect.

No violence whatever was used, and no attempt made to uncouple cars. The train left about eleven o'clock. Three strikers were arrested earlier in the day for running an engine from the yard into the roundhouse.

An attempt was made about three o'clock in the evening, to send out a train on the Indianapolis division of the Pan Handle. Strikers coaxed the engineer and fireman off, and ran the engine into the roundhouse, and put out the fire. Military were guarding the train. In the meanwhile, the engine was again fired up, and another attempt made to get the train out. Strikers switched gondolas on the track between the engine and train while the engine was backing down. The obstructions were removed under a guard of soldiers, and the train finally got out. Several shots were fired at random between the soldiers and the crowd, but no harm resulted. An alarm bell was sounded and the citizen guards called out, but soon returned to headquarters. There was much excitement, but no violence that night. Citizens' companies, well armed, guarded depots, railroad bridges, roundhouses, and other buildings.





RIOTERS SOAPING THE TRACK.

CHAPTER XXII.

INSOLENCE IN INDIANA.

The Strike Inaugurated at Fort Wayne—Trackmen and Trainmen—Indianapolis Taken In—Terre Haute Yields to the Popular Uprising—Miners at Brazil—Mayor Cavin of Indianapolis Indisposed to Interfere—Governor Williams not Certain that it is any of his Concern Except to Keep the Peace—United States Judges and Bankrupt Railroad Receivers—Freaks of the Strikers—They Capture a Railroad.

The strikes commencing in the East, moved west with great rapidity. On Saturday, July 21st, at eight o'clock in the evening, the Great Strikes were inaugurated in Indiana, at Fort Wayne, by the employes of the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago Railway. Freight trains bound west, scheduled to leave at that hour, were made up, when brakemen and firemen refused to go on duty. Engineers and conductors declined to take trains out without any crews, and officials were unable to obtain substitutes, and all freight business on that road was suddenly stopped.

At Indianapolis, on the 22nd, a private meeting was held by train men, in which the Pan-Handle men participated, and the time agreed to strike was fixed for twelve o'clock. At the same time information came that the only other available route to Pittsburgh, via the Bee Line, was likely to be closed, the Bee Line men having resolved to strike at once.

At a meeting of railroad officials, held at Indianapolis,

Sunday night, at the office of the Chief of Police, it was resolved to do nothing. In case of a general strike deemed inevitable, the proposition was to attempt to run no trains out of the city, thus throwing the onus of stopping all travel and traffic on the strikers, and at the same time avoiding the collision which would ensue, were the strikers' places to be filled by new men. It was proposed, also, to run all railroad property into the roundhouses at Indianapolis, guard the roundhouses, and then notify the general Government that as soon as sufficient aid was furnished, an attempt would be made to resume trains. This course was thought to be rendered absolutely necessary by the situation. It was openly admitted by the authorities that they could not hope to contend with the possible mob. The police force was insignificant, and the militia companies not to be relied upon. Adjutant-General Russ stated that no more than five thousand could be raised in the entire State.

The morning of the 24th of July, affairs at Fort Wayne assumed a more threatening aspect than at any time since the strike began. About eight o'clock, a large force of strikers visited the extensive shops of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, where one thousand men were employed, and insisted that they should be closed up. The men said they would not stop work until they received orders from the officials, but they were threatened with force, and succumbed. The shops were at once closed up and the fires put out. Committees then went east and west on hand-cars, and induced the section and trackmen for a considerable distance to stop work. These men came to the city that afternoon, and added a very ugly element to the crowd

already assembled. All the railroad shops and manufactories in the city were compelled to shut down.

During the afternoon the strikers held a large meeting, and made exorbitant demands of the railroad officials, stating that they would not resume work until the force was replaced as it existed prior to June 1, both as to number and rate of wages, and insisted upon the abandonment of all classifications in the rank and pay of engineers. They also adopted an address to the strikers, which was printed and circulated, and had a good effect. The tone of the address was admirable, coming, as it did, from strikers. They said that news from Pittsburgh, and other railroad points, of terrible sacrifices of life and property, was something that should be justly considered by all of them. They were gratified to know that a very small percentage of strikers were taking an active part in the great and terrible destruction of the Company's property, but that it was mostly done by outsiders, who, by such acts, believed themselves practically expressing the wishes of the strikers. Their friends and co-laborers hereby desired to express the earnest hope, and would give their assistance, in an endeavor by every means to protect the property of the Company in Fort Wayne. They claimed the strikers were perfectly able to bring about a compromise without violence, and to prevent others from destroying the property of the Company. To destroy property would positively not remedy the matter, but, on the contrary, a slow restoration of better times would accomplish much. They were conjured to work justly, honorably, quietly, and thoughtfully, and allow no disinterested person to meddle with the property they had helped to create,

and which stood as everlasting monuments to their skill, perseverance, and energy. "Do as you would be done by, and do not act in too great haste." If the Company had been unjust in its demands upon them, let them settle it as peaceably as they could, without allowing the destruction of railroad institutions, that to a very great extent constituted the future prosperity, life, comfort, and pride of the city.

The City Council of Fort Wayne met in special session in the evening, and called on the strikers to disperse. An extra police force of two hundred men was appointed and sworn in, and all saloons were ordered to close. The city was quiet, but trouble was feared before morning, by reason of the news just received from Pittsburgh, that all efforts to adjust the difficulties had proved futile.

Wabash freight trains left as usual, although their crews had announced that they would not take them out. The employes of that road had decided not to strike, or, at least, wait further developments before taking action.

The employes of the Vandalia Railroad waited upon President McKeen, at Terre Haute, in the forenoon, to get his answer to the proposition made Sunday, for a restoration of their wages, the increase demanded being fifteen per cent. Mr. McKeen responded that he should have to consult his directors and the officials of other lines with which the Vandalia is in alliance, and said he would give a final answer Tuesday morning at nine o'clock. Meanwhile all the freight trains were stopped, and only the passenger traffic continued. The strike began at twelve o'clock, Monday the 23d. Passenger trains were run as usual, but no attempt was made to

run freight trains. The strikers included all the shop men. The machine shops at Terre Haute were closed and the fires put out. Between five hundred and six hundred men turned out. They resolved not to drink any intoxicating liquors while on a strike.

The Indianapolis and St. Louis men followed the Vandalia men, and no freight trains were moved after twelve o'clock between Indianapolis and St. Louis. No violence or destruction of property attended these movements.

At Indianapolis, on the 24th, the strikers took possession of the Union Depot and tracks at midnight, and would allow only the postal cars to leave the city. Passenger travel on all the roads running out of that city, without exception, was stopped. The Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette, the Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western, and the Indianapolis, Peru and Chicago Roads had not yet joined in the strike, but were prevented from working. Governor Williams and Mayor Cavin both declined to interfere, except to suppress or prevent violence. Trains brought in only a mail car containing passengers, baggage, and express goods. The coaches were left outside.

The Vandalia officials attempted to place a train in the depot, but were compelled to send it back to the yards.

Judge Gresham, of the United States Circuit Court, declared his purpose to assert his authority over the Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette, and Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western Railroads, whose receivers were appointed by him, and to direct the United States Marshal to aid the receivers in moving trains. So far, the strikers had not been opposed, and nothing attempted

to test the extent of their determination. The Wabash men, on the Eastern division, struck at noon, Tuesday, July 24th. The freight trains at Lafayette were stopped, but passenger trains were allowed to run.

Judge Gresham notified the strikers at Vincennes, on the 26th, that he had nothing to do with the reduction of their wages, could therefore take no steps in the matter, but that the settlement of the question must be between them and Mr. King, the Receiver of the road. A passenger train arrived on the Indianapolis and Vincennes Railroad from Indianapolis, Wednesday. The demand of the strikers had been acceded to on that road. A passenger coach was attempted to be moved from Vincennes, on the 26th, on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, but the strikers would not allow it. No special action was taken at the strikers' meeting, but they expressed a determination to stand firmly by their demands. Judge Gresham would not allow the application of the men to be received while the strike lasted, and intimated that the United States Marshal would be ordered to assist the Receiver in running the road, and protecting employes who were willing to go to work.

At Fort Wayne, on the 24th, the employes of Olds & Co.'s factory, numbering nearly four hundred, stopped work and compelled the shops to shut down. They held a meeting in the afternoon, and demanded ten per cent. increase of wages, and expressed a determination not to allow the shops to resume until their terms were complied with.

By the 24th, the strikers were in undisputed control of all railroads at Terre Haute. All trains were stopped on all roads, except the Terre Haute and Evansville,

which road had never reduced wages. The United States mail was interfered with. The East and West roads were allowed to run one mail train each way, daily, but they were not permitted to carry passengers. The railroads upon which traffic was stopped, were the Vandalia, the Indianapolis and St. Louis, Illinois Midland, Terre Haute and Danville, and the Terre Haute and Logansport. There was no rioting or violence, and scarcely any drinking. A message was received by the strikers, offering the services of three hundred miners at Brazil, but the offer was declined. The railroad managers seemed disposed to avoid in every possible way, a collision with the strikers, and to await developments elsewhere. President Collett, of the Terre Haute and Danville, who was absent from the city, telegraphed that if the force on his road was dissatisfied, and wished to strike, to take off the trains, close the yards, lock the doors, and nail up the gates. The largest manufacturing establishments were compelled to close for lack of coal. At a meeting of railroad strikers, held at Terre Haute on the 24th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

WHEREAS, The present condition of the country is one demanding the most serious considerations, followed by a prompt and vigorous action of the laboring classes of the population ; and

WHEREAS, An effort is made by a portion, or, perhaps, all of the subsidized agents of capital, to make the impression that the unsettled state of the country is due to the employes of the railroad alone, when in truth and in fact, it is oppressed labor, exercising the inherited right of revolution against the tyrannical exactions of capital ; therefore

Resolved, That we now appeal to our fellow-citizens of all classes for their sympathy and aid in this, our resistance to the encroachments of capital upon unprotected labor.

Resolved, That we deprecate the spirit of vandalism, in any shape that it may present itself, and that in order to secure all persons and their property from violence, as well as safe protection to ourselves, we recommend the appointment of a committee to take steps to prevent the perpetration of any acts of vandalism, during the prevalence of this strike.

Women and children caught in the blockade at Indianapolis, were permitted to leave in the postal cars. Trains arriving, came in with only the mail car.

The special police appointed by the Mayor, were on duty guarding railroad property. Sheriff Bessly, of Indianapolis, who is a member of the Locomotive Engineer Brotherhood, had the assurance of that order that they would stand by him in protecting property.

In the evening a large meeting of the citizens of Indianapolis assembled in pursuance of the call of the Mayor. The meeting was a very quiet and orderly one. The main subject discussed was how to protect life and property in the crisis upon the city. It was agreed to raise a Committee of Safety, to organize companies of citizens to protect life and property. The next day a large number of companies were organized.

On the night of the 25th of July, a large force of armed men were kept on duty to protect railroad shops and rolling stock, and private manufactories in the city of Fort Wayne. The strikers furnished forces of guards wherever desired, and rendered all protection to property

which was necessary. At a late hour, two gangs of drunken tramps, numbering from fifty to one hundred each, gathered at the stock yards and bridge across St. Mary's river, and made vicious demonstrations and ugly threats. The strikers, upon being apprised of this, sent squads of men on hand-cars to disperse the mob, which they did most effectually, driving all the tramps some distance beyond the city limits. Men were kept going on hand-cars all night to prevent a gathering of any more such assemblages.

During the evening, a large crowd of section and track-men of the Western divisions of the road, many of them under the influence of liquor, seized a number of hand-cars and entered Columbia City, where the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne Railroad Company was building a new depot, and compelled the men employed therein to stop work. These section hands drank freely, and soon became very riotous. They started for the city on hand-cars, making threats of violence and incendiarism. A force of strikers learning of the threatened invasion, took an engine and coach and went out and met the mob. The strikers were well armed, and they compelled the drunken rabble to turn back and abandon their intended invasion of Fort Wayne. Strikers in this, as in other instances, acted on the side of good order, and saved the city of Fort Wayne from serious dangers which menaced it.

Passenger trains were still running on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, and had not been molested. Wednesday night, the strikers notified all their number who desired to come from Crestline to Fort Wayne to get on the passenger train, and if the

conductor insisted upon collecting fare, they were instructed to take possession of the train and run it to suit themselves. Their fare was kindly remitted however, by the conductor, and all difficulty was thus obviated.

All freight trains on the Wabash Railroad stopped running, but passenger trains were still moving. A secret meeting of the Pittsburgh Railway strikers, Wabash Railroadmen and old employes, met at Fort Wayne on the 25th.

All freight trains of the Grand Rapids and Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Richmond and Fort Wayne roads stopped running, but passenger trains were still moving. Passenger trains out on the Wabash, in both directions were discontinued by the officials.

At midnight on the 25th, strikers at Fort Wayne announced their intention of taking possession of all passenger trains on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway. They subsequently carried out their purpose to assume complete control of the Company's business, and provided their own conductors, ticket agents, superintendent, etc. Mr. Robert M. Ammon, formerly a fireman, became superintendent, and, indeed, autocrat of the road.

This secret meeting of Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago strikers adjourned only a little before midnight. Among other things agreed upon, they had selected three of their number to fill the positions, held by Superintendent Gorham, Master Mechanic Boone, and Master of Transportation Clark. These officials learned that it was the intention of the strikers to take possession of their office and control the telegraph wires and the entire machinery of the road, and concluded to stand

a long siege before surrendering. An extra police force was put on duty to guard offices, but strikers learning of the precaution which had been taken, wisely abandoned their purpose, and concluded to allow the Company's general officers to go through the motions of managing the railroad. That very morning a committee of Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne strikers left for Pittsburgh to confer with railroad officials, having received an invitation to do so. They were joined at Crestline, Alliance and other stations, by committees from those points, bound on a similar errand.

The committee returned from Toledo, where they had been in conference with General Manager Hopkins. A meeting of Wabash employes was at once called, and the committee stated the results of their conference. They reported a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Hopkins, who had agreed to redress real grievance and to advance their pay whenever the business of the Company would admit. The meeting was very stormy, one element desiring to go to extremes. Better counsels finally prevailed, and at noon the meeting adjourned, having decided to abandon the strike if the employes at other points of the line would do the same. A committee was appointed to go to Lafayette and Logansport to urge a cessation of the strike, but this was not necessary, as the men at those places telegraphed that they had decided to resume work as soon as the Company desired them to do so. Manager Hopkins was accordingly notified of this determination, and replied congratulating the men, and stating that freight trains would begin moving as soon as connecting lines resumed operations. Local freight trains were immediately resumed. The shops of the Wabash Company

were closed, thus adding five hundred to the number of idle men in the city. These shops, however, were reopened two days afterwards. The collapse of the strike on the Wabash Railway caused a perceptible lengthening of faces among Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne strikers, and they were less defiant than before, although they professed to be competent to bring the railroad to terms.

On the 27th, at Fort Wayne, Sheriff Munson circulated the Governor's proclamation among the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne strikers, with a note appended to it, in which he declared that, being desirous and determined peace and order should prevail in the county, he warned all persons who had wrongfully and unlawfully taken forcible possession of private property of legally chartered corporations, preventing the moving of trains, and obstructing owners and managers of manufactories in that county to desist from labor, that they must desist from all interference.

Railroadmen exhibited no intention of complying with the Sheriff's order. The same night, a number of roughs assembled on the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne track, near Coesee, ten miles west of Fort Wayne, with the supposed intention of tearing up the track and throwing a passenger train off. A gang of striking section men resisted them, and after the passenger train had passed, two of the strikers were found by the side of the track, badly cut about the head, and in an unconscious condition. These men, named Frank Reno and Jerry Dooney, were so seriously injured, that death ensued. A monument should be erected to their memory.

The strikers held another secret meeting on the 27th.

Two attempts were made at Fort Wayne on the 28th, to lift the blockade on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, both proved failures, strikers coming out successful in each instance. Since the strike opened, the men had used two elegant coaches as their headquarters with a caboose for an office. These cars stood on a side-track, in front of the passenger depot, and in them the strikers luxuriated like so many millionnaires. From them, the Executive Committee had issued its orders, and sent forth men to carry them into execution. On the 28th, at noon, just after the citizens' committee appointed to reason with the strikers, had left their headquarters, a locomotive moved out of the round-house, carrying an engineer and fireman, Mayor Zollinger, Sheriff Munson, Superintendent Gorham, of the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne Railway, and Superintendent O'Rourke, of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway. This engine was attached to coaches, Mayor Zollinger putting in the coupling-pin. Sheriff Munson and Superintendent Gorham then ordered the strikers to get out of the coaches and surrender them. Most of them got out, and the engine moved off with the cars attached. The strikers, meanwhile, rallied their comrades, and soon about one hundred men, carrying clubs, stones coupling-pins, etc., boarded the locomotive and compelled the engineer and fireman to dismount. The Mayor, Sheriff and railway officers were completely overpowered, and they surrendered in the unequal contest, while the mob shouted, cheered and hooted. The strikers took possession of the engine, and summoned their fellows by sounding the whistle repeatedly. Soon several hundred strikers gathered at the point, all of them well armed

with weapons of all descriptions. The crowd was exceedingly ugly, and filled the air with shouts, hisses, and infernal noises. About an hour after the officers had retreated, they re-appeared, and entered into the midst of the crowd, when Sheriff Munson put the ring-leader, a man named B. F. Cooper, under arrest. He declined to be taken, and the crowd threatened death to any one who should try to take him by force. The Sheriff and railway officers then retreated into the round-house, amid the shouts and cheers of the mob. The crowd was gathered in force that night, and if any further attempt had been made to raise the blockade, blood would have flowed freely.

Immediately after the occurrences above related, the strikers sent a squad to Adams, five miles east, where they took possession of the telegraph office and forced the operator to send a message to the strikers at Crestline, to send to Fort Wayne at once as many men as could be spared. About the same time a committee was sent to Columbia City, twenty-five miles west, to induce a large band of section men from the Western division, who were assembled there several days, to come to Fort Wayne and aid in overpowering the legal authorities, and prevent the success of their attempt to restore peace and order. The mob became quiet, and officials were attempting to gather a force sufficient to conquer the rioters. Late in the evening, Governor Williams offered to send all assistance that might be necessary.

The Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne strikers had telegraphed in all directions for re-inforcements after their two victories over the authorities, but the only response,

was made by one hundred section men who came from Columbia City, during the night, on hand cars. They were a desperate crowd, well armed, and ready for mischief, but remained in the back ground. On the afternoon of the 29th, an unsuccessful attempt was made to run an engine out of the roundhouse into the yard, but the strikers gathered en masse, and took the engine back, having forced the engineer and fireman from their posts.

Governor Williams was again called upon for troops, but none were sent. A large meeting of strikers was held in the afternoon, and a report received from the committee, who had returned from Pittsburgh.

At Indianapolis, the situation was critical on the 26th of July. A long conference was held between a strikers' committee from Columbus, and the strikers' committee at Indianapolis, with regard to allowing passenger coaches to accompany the mail trains upon the Pan Handle route. After a long discussion, it was decided that coaches might go, and the following morning, the different trains carried out a number of passengers. When the Cincinnati train came in at twelve o'clock, the Union depot was crowded, and the excitement prevailing was intense. It was stated that a train would be started for St. Louis, and at one o'clock the train was made up, and the two coaches attached, almost instantly filled by excited passengers, who had been detained at Indianapolis, in some instances, for many days. The accounts given by some of them of their troubles were interesting. Some were nearly frantic with anxiety regarding the situation of sick relatives, and others were enduring heavy business losses from the same cause. Few wanted to make the trip under the circumstances

forced upon them, but all were willing to risk the unpleasant journey, rather than fail in reaching their destination as quickly as possible. The Superintendent of the road, Mr. Joshua Staples, stated that he had absolutely nothing to do with the going out of the train in the depot. The strikers had seized the road, and the property, and were managing things to suit themselves. The whim had taken them to run this train out with that number of cars now, and it might start at once, though he could promise nothing about it. To say that Mr. Staples was almost speechless with vexation, would be stating the case mildly. He could scarcely articulate. The train finally started out behind time, the crowd shouting hoarsely. After the departure of the train, the excitement somewhat subsided.

On the evening of the 26th, Governor James D. Williams issued a proclamation in which he said that disaffected employes of the railroad companies doing business in the State of Indiana had renounced their employment because of alleged grievance, and had conspired to enforce their demands by detaining trains of their late employers, seizing and controlling their property, intimidating their managers, prohibiting by violence their attempt to conduct their business, and driving away passengers and freight offered for transportation. The peace of the community was seriously disturbed. By these lawless acts, every class of society was made to suffer. The comfort and happiness of many families, not parties to the grievances, were sacrificed. A controversy which belongs to the courts or to the province of peaceful arbitration or negotiation, was made the excuse for an obstruction of trade and travel over the chartered

highways within the State; the commerce of the entire country was interfered with, and the reputation of the community threatened with dishonor among their neighbors.

This disregard of law and the rights and privileges of citizens, and those of sister States, could not be tolerated. The machinery provided by law for the adjustment of private grievances should be first applied to. He appealed for the prompt and right administration of justice in proceedings of this nature, to the Sheriffs of the several counties. He recommended a careful study of the duties imposed upon them by the statutes which they had sworn to discharge. He admonished each to use the full power of his county in the preservation of order, and the suppression of breaches of the peace, assuring them of his hearty co-operation, when satisfied that occasion required its exercise.

At Indianapolis, the strikers consented that passenger traffic might be resumed in full on all roads, and also freight business on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Indianapolis road, that Company having arranged with its employes. A compromise was effected on the Bec Line, and they were soon in full operation. at Indianapolis.

General Daniel MacAuley circulated a notice forbidding public meetings, and requesting all non-combatants to remain within their dwellings, and forbid them to appear upon the streets in squads or crowds. The Sheriff and Chief of Police were requested to aid in the enforcement of this requirement.

William A. Sayers, Secretary and Treasurer of the Firemen's League of the United States and Canada,

and John Brickley, one of the leading strikers, were arrested on the evening of the 28th, by the United States Marshal, and were taken to the United States Arsenal.

General Benjamin Spooner, United States Marshal, with a guard of fifty soldiers, left Indianapolis, for Vincennes, by way of the Vandalia road, in a special train, arriving at its destination at nine o'clock, without any interference from the strikers.

The engineers of the Vandalia road struck at twelve o'clock, the night of the 27th, and attempted to prevent trains passing through Terre Haute, by tampering with the engines, and intimidation. Two trains went through, one run by Master Mechanic Peddle, and the other by a foreign engineer. Subsequently, at a meeting, held in Terre Haute, the strikers resolved to go to work the next day, and so notified the engineers at Indianapolis, Effingham, and St. Louis.

The strikes in Indiana were at an end on the 30th of July, 1877.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHANCES FOR CHICAGO.

The Tidal Wave Reaches the Illinois Metropolis—The Bad Elements Restive—The Tramps Marching in by Hundreds—Chances for Plunder—The Commune Commences—Boastful Manifestos—Absurd Demand—The Social Atmosphere Grows Misty—Precautionary Measures by Civil and Military authorities—Noisy Demonstrations of the Internationalists—Citizens Philip Van Patten and George Schilling.

While the whole country was in an uproar, from the Wabash to the Delaware, and from the Chemung to the Kanawha, and the indications pointed to a greater uprising, and the development of passions of deeper intensity, as the movement among the working classes expanded, the eyes of the people of the entire West were turned with anxiety toward Chicago, the metropolis of the lakes. There was a feeling abroad, that Chicago occupied a peculiarly critical position in relation to the great uprising which was shaking the social and political structures of our country to their deepest foundations. Chicago is great in point of population, great in its commercial enterprise, great in the stores of wealth collected by her energetic merchants and bankers, great in the number and the magnificence of her public and private buildings; and above all, Chicago is great in the number and character of the daily newspapers issued from her printing offices. Furthermore, Chicago is great in the history of the country, on account of hav-

ing been the scene of the greatest conflagration known in the annals of time ; and Chicago is great as being the seat of more startling and sensational developments than any or all other American cities. Probably the reason for the general belief in the truth of the last statement is to be sought, in the fact that Chicago newspapers are confessedly in advance of all other newspapers in the world, as chroniclers of occurrences. They are emphatically daily records of all events in which any human being can possibly have any interest.

But with all its greatness, Chicago has its vileness also. Its great population is, perhaps, as much of a conglomerated mass, of as many races, kindreds and tongues, as the inhabitants in any other city in the world can be. There are English, Welsh, Irish, French, Polish, Bohemian, Italian, Russian, Danish and Swedish people among its hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Chicago was long ago noted as having an unusually large number of Socialists, Internationalists, Spiritualists, and other peculiar people, among its inhabitants. It was the first city in this country, in which communism had the boldness to come out and avow itself openly. It was known generally, that the so-called "dangerous classes" were disproportionately numerous in Chicago, and hence the shudder of dread, with which men contemplated the bare possibility that these chronic law-breakers might become the masters of the city, and compel obedience to any decree they might conclude to issue. If such crimes as theft, arson, and murder, could be committed by the wholesale in Pittsburgh, a much smaller city, what might not the proportionately larger class of roughs in Chicago do, when once they

triumphed over all lawful authority, as they did in Pittsburgh? Men asked themselves this question as the advancing wave of discontent and passion rolled from the East, in resistless might toward the West, and wondered what answer time would give. Chicago was regarded as a place where the most serious consequences of the Great Strikes should be expected. And the sympathies of millions of people were evoked in its behalf. The city of the Great Conflagration might also become the scene of the greatest riots recorded in the history of the world. All hoped that it might escape, but all feared that it would not escape a visitation of the excitement, and many doubted the ability of the civil authorities to meet with a general uprising of "the dangerous classes" in that city.

The first intimation of the outbreak of the discontented in that city were received with a feeling of profound concern. The whole population of the great Northwest was interested. The great city, it was feared, was destined to undergo an ordeal, such as it had not before endured, overwhelming as had been the disasters which had swept over it. The torch alone, might light the fires of a greater conflagration than that which consumed temples, palaces, marts, and dwellings, during that memorable October night in 1871, and yet more awful things than that might happen, for with the devastation of the flames, death might revel in a horrible carnival. And men trembled at the suggestion of such a possibility.

The concessions made by numbers of the railway companies running into Chicago, prevented any strike among their employes, and thus withdrew from the

movement a very large number of men, who became at once the friends of order, and the stern upholders of the law, instead of being doubtful friends, if not positive foes, of the law and order party. Again, the acts of pillage, arson, and murder, committed by roughs who had attached themselves to the cause of the laborers, at Baltimore and Pittsburgh, had put the striking workingmen on their guard against affiliations with such characters. The honest workingmen of the land turned away in disgust from the Socialists, and other agitators, who had in the very beginning of the movement come forward and assumed the control to promote their own visionary, not to say vicious, schemes. The American workingmen are not thieves, incendiaries, and murderers, but honest, true men, as a class, who were engaged in an effort to redress certain wrongs, of which they believed themselves to be victims. At first they were glad to welcome to their ranks, and and thank for their assistance, all who came, professing sympathy. But when they saw the deeds of the Communists and roughs in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, which they did long before the waves of the labor-movement had reached Chicago and St. Louis, they were disgusted, felt themselves outraged, and dishonored by the association, and were ready to assist anybody representing the ideas of social order and political stability, to put down the howling mobs wherever they might appear.

These two causes—the action of the railway companies conceding the demands of the employes, and the conduct of the mobs of roughs, who had at first joined the workingmen in their movement, had prepared the way for the maintenance of law and order in Chicago.

There could be no very serious infractions of the peace of the community, except by the class—already under the ban of the law—known as roughs. The working-men neither had occasion, nor desire to become thieves, incendiaries, and murderers, nor to have association with persons of that character. They were not only, as a class, withdrawn from a position of active enmity against the good order of society, but had been transferred to the side which favored the preservation of order. Therefore the chances for Chicago to escape pillage and destruction were good, notwithstanding the immense number of visionary men, professional thieves, and idle and vicious characters to be found there, who were interested, or thought they were, in destroying all order and inaugurating a reign of terror.

Nevertheless Chicago was destined to be shaken as if by a mighty tempest. The Communists and the vicious of all classes and trades were sufficiently numerous to create no little trouble. It was well to be prepared to act with promptness and celerity, and make quick, sharp work with public offenders. And the Chicago officials had made ample preparations, so that when the announcement was made that the strikes had been inaugurated in Chicago, the municipal authorities were ready. The announcement did not cause any smiting together of knees, as in some other cities.

The strike of railroadmen in Chicago was commenced Monday night, July 23rd. The first announcement of trouble came from the men employed by the Michigan Central Railroad as switchmen. These were joined the following morning, by the entire force of firemen and brakemen employed by that Company. They claimed

that they were forced to take the step by the arrogance, penuriousness, and unkindness of the managers of the road. Having abandoned their places, the strikers gathered in force on Tuesday morning, the 24th, and, in a body, visited the other railroad employes in the city, and induced them all, with the exception of employes of the Chicago and Northwestern, to quit work. Before noon on the 24th, only one railroad which was running trains out of Chicago had any freight trains moving on their tracks.

As soon as the the announcement of the strike among railroadmen had spread through the city, a mob, among whom were few or no strikers, but composed largely of disreputable characters, was speedily assembled, to the number of about five hundred men, and started out on a career of lawlessness on the West Side. These ruffians visited manufactories, and all other places where men were employed, and compelled the workmen to desist from their labors.

Before sundown of the 24th, the railroad offices in the city, and the depots and yards of all the railroads wore a quiet and desolate appearance. The great traffic of a mighty city had suddenly ceased. The wheels of commerce stood still, and silence fell upon the lately bustling marts. The railroad companies had anticipated the strikes, and had sent away as many cars from the city yards as possible.

The mob, which commenced its march in the morning, and paid attention first to the railroad shops, continued all day performing its evil mission. The closing of the workshops of the railroad companies, which had been accomplished without difficulty, emboldened the self-con-

stituted guardians of the rights of workingmen, and they proceeded next to the shops, founderies, mills and lumber yards, to command the laborers employed in them to cease from their toil.

Meanwhile the band, which started out in the morning with five hundred men, had grown to a multitude of two thousand men, and had been divided into sections. This mob was largely composed of boys, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty years. The mob did not respect the wishes of the laborers in the shops of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, who had not struck, but compelled them to quit.

Mayor Heath was not idle during this eventful day. Determined to preserve the public peace, and maintain good order in the city, he was taking such steps as would give him control of an available force of picked men, sufficient in numbers and appointments to enforce his orders when the time should arrive for decisive action. All the afternoon, the Chief Magistrate of the city was engaged in selecting and swearing in a select body of citizens to act as special police during the continuance of the crisis. Nor was he content with these precautionary measures alone. In view of the threatened danger, he had conferred with the military commanders stationed in Chicago, and through them had induced the Federal Administration to order to that city the Twenty-second United States Infantry, then doing duty in Dakota. This regiment was to have gone further East, but the threatening aspect of affairs at Chicago, was sufficient reason for a halt there.

In the meantime, as the day wore away, the city exhibited evidence of the general uneasiness which per-

vaded the public mind. Late in the evening the Blue Island avenue cars were stopped for about an hour, by one of the gangs, into which the mob had been divided. The rumor spread with great rapidity, that the mob proposed to stop all travel on the horse-car lines, and this served to increase the excitement on the streets. But there was really no occasion for the intensity of interest manifested. The leaders of the gang which had stopped the cars, were promptly arrested and locked up by the police, and the cars continued to run as usual.

The wildest reports of the action of the mob were in circulation by nightfall. It was a field day for the Press reporters, who seemed ubiquitous, narrowly watching every movement, seizing upon the most trifling incident, and elaborating from it whole columns of matter. In former days, chroniclers of great events would not have occupied so much space in detailing the circumstances attending the shock of mighty armies in battle, as was used by the press reporters in Chicago in reporting the movements of a parcel of discontented men, and a multitude of street boys. The parade of the mob was the most formidable part of the trouble of the day. In truth, there had been no attempt at incendiarism, few altercations, and scarcely a single breach of the peace. The lawlessness of the gangs were manifested in no other way than interfering with peaceable citizens, to prevent them from pursuing their usual avocations. Upon the whole, it was a very good natured sort of mob, indulging in pleasantries while engaged in violating the law, by trenching on the rights of others. But the conduct of the mob on the 24th, was only a prelude to more dangerous demonstrations, and more decisive

actions. Collisions had been expected, but, as the evening advanced, far into the night, no intelligence of conflicts had been received, and gradually the streets were deserted by the crowds which had thronged them, and the great city sank into a profound repose soon after midnight. The eventful day had passed, and no stirring or startling occurrence had taken place.

Wednesday, July 25th, dawned mistily upon the city. Clouds of vapor hung suspended over Lake Michigan, and shadowed the streets, and palaces of Chicago. There was gloom on the faces of men as well as on the face of nature. The apprehension of conflicts, of incendiary torches, of disaster and death, had a strong hold on the public mind.

Early in the day, it was announced that the Union Stock and Rolling Mills, and Malleable Iron Works on the North Side, had closed, thus transferring three hundred industrious men to the ranks of the idlers. It was this rapid increase in the number of idle men, that served to increase the general uneasiness. There is mischief in idleness, and this was a time when men dreaded any enlargement of the possible elements of mischief-making.

The first conflict between the mob and the representatives of lawful authority took place on the morning of the 25th. A section of the mob was moving on Twenty-second street, when it was met by a squad of police officers. The mob was largely composed of a class of persons, to be found in all cities, who regard police officers as their natural foes. Being now in a large body together, it occurred to them that an excellent opportunity was afforded to have revenge on

their enemies, hence they proceeded to treat the officers to a shower of stones, and then advanced upon them with sticks. The police officers were prepared for them, and drawing their pistols, they advanced upon the crowd, fired their pistols, charged with blank cartridges, then advanced briskly, club in hand, to the assault. The officers of the law were quickly among the rioters, applying their clubs in a way exceedingly unpleasant to the law-breakers, who speedily scattered, some of them with bleeding heads. Two of the officers were struck, but received slight injuries.

Another section of the rowdies, seized the Phoenix Distillery, compelled the employes to quit work, drove the proprietors from the place, and closed the establishment. The proprietors applied to the United States army officers for protection, and re-instatement.

On the North Side, the rabble who were assuming to regulate other people's affairs, showed themselves particularly incompetent to govern their own actions in a proper manner. They were very noisy, and made themselves particularly obnoxious by lawless deeds. This crowd showed a decidedly bellicose disposition, and amused themselves by smashing windows and defacing buildings in all cases where objection was made to their proceedings. At the North Side Rolling Mills, a large company of strikers defied the police, and compelled them to retire discomfited from the field. The police returned to their station-houses, and the strikers marched on.

The excitement in the city was growing hour by hour. Men were uncertain, apprehensive, fearful. What would come of all this? What did the mighty movement that now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific mean?

What would become of government, society, institutions, the hopes of mankind, if the element which had suddenly exhibited so much zeal, vigor, and organization, should succeed in their purposes? These were questions presented to the minds of all, but answered satisfactorily by no one.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, a gang of some twenty or thirty rowdies boarded a passenger train on the Illinois Central Railroad, just before it left the depot. When it had gone a short distance, they compelled the engineer to back up, and return to the depot-yard. Another gang attempted to stop the dummy, which runs from the Union Stock Yards. In this purpose they were thwarted by the coolness and daring of the conductor, who, with drawn revolver in hand, defied the roughs, and proceeded on his way.

One of the sections which visited a large white lead and oil manufactory, not meeting with the cordial reception they believed themselves entitled to receive, expressed their disgust by attacking the building with a perfect shower of stones. They succeeded in destroying a considerable amount of glass, which was in the windows. A few sailors joined in the general sentiment of workingmen on a strike, and struck for an advance of wages. But the masses of the jolly tars did not take kindly to the fashion of the land-lubbers, and as a consequence the sailors' strike was a failure.

There was a collision between a band of rioters and policemen at the corner of Twelfth and Canal streets. The police were successful in vanquishing the roughs, struck a goodly number with clubs, severely bruising a few, and arresting quite a number of them.

All saloons were closed on the West Side at an early hour in the day. Later orders were issued by the Mayor to close all saloons in the city. The penalty for refusing to comply with the order was the revocation of their licenses. No one had been killed in all the encounters between police officers and the mob, though a number of the former had received ugly cuts and bruises, and many of the latter had suffered from severe beatings inflicted by the strong arms of the officers wielding their clubs.

The arrival of a portion of the Twenty-Second Regiment of United States infantry, from Dakota, was an event which cheered the hearts of the law-abiding citizens, if it did not have the effect of striking terror into the souls of the riotous mob.

All the afternoon the strikers—or rather the mob, for there were very few railroadmen or strikers from shops and factories, among the crowds which marched around to order the stopping of work—continued their parade begun the day before. Many shops were visited, many honest men were intimidated from earning bread for their families.

The City Council had a session in the afternoon, and adopted a series of resolutions, supporting the measures taken by the Mayor, for the preservation of peace, and authorizing him to make whatever expenditures might be deemed necessary, in order to protect the lives and property of the citizens. In addition, a measure was introduced and referred to the Committee on Finance, authorizing the Mayor to borrow the sum of half a million of dollars, to be expended on public improvements, in order that those idle might be furnished employment. This action of the City Council fairly

illustrates the condition of the public mind, as it was manifested in Chicago on the 25th of July, 1877. The Mayor issued another proclamation reiterating his requests, that patrols be formed, and that idlers and curious people, and especially women and children, keep off the streets, and ordering police and citizens to arrest disorderly persons. The authorities would not be responsible for consequences of the collection of people in a crowd.

The merchants held a meeting, and made arrangements for an organized body of special police, composed of merchants and employes, who should not disband until peace was restored.

As yet, no real difficulty had been encountered. The citizens were excited; the discontented and dangerous elements were fully aroused, and the aspect of affairs were certainly threatening. There was not wanting evidence that a large number of people in that city would hail with keen satisfaction the inauguration of a reign of terror, such as had been experienced at Pittsburgh, only more terrible because of the greater number of people involved.

Meanwhile, the various sections of the "Workingmen's Party of the United States"—the Internationalists were suddenly galvanized into energetic life by the events which had been taking place everywhere—were holding meetings daily and nightly, in many different parts of the city, enrolling new members and doing a remarkable amount of talking about their purposes, and their readiness to assert their "rights," and make war on society to the extent of subverting the established political and social institutions of the country. The Communists

were in their element. The citizens, Philip Van Patten, and George Schilling, leaders of the Internationalists were unusually alert. They were taking counsel with their followers continually.

On the night of the 25th, a mass meeting, under the auspices of the Workingmen's Party of the United States, was held at Madison and Market streets. This meeting was attended by perhaps one thousand eight hundred, or two thousand persons. The same evening a meeting of the Labor League was held at Maskell's Hall, on Desplaines street. All day the sections of the mob had been going about the streets, interfering with the men in various manufactories, compelling men to close up, and doing many unlawful and malicious acts. But they were not wearied at night. The various halls where the members of the trades' unions met, were well filled. And yet the throngs in the street were not less numerous. Even the workingmen, and the Internationalists seemed to have been surprised by the suddenness and evident momentum of the popular movement in Chicago.

Messrs. Van Patten, Schilling, Parsons, and other members of "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," do not seem to have fully comprehended the nature of the movement in progress around them. During the early part of the day these men, who composed "The Executive Committee," issued an address to workingmen, in which they advised them, under any circumstances, to keep quiet until they should have given the crisis due consideration. An Executive Committee, they announced, had been appointed to receive delegates from every shop, mill, and trades' union wherever





CARRYING OFF THE DEAD.

there were one hundred united, to lay out a plan how to work and better their situation. They were invited to appoint delegates and send them at any time after eight o'clock that night.

It was announced that The Executive Committee would sit all night at No. 113 Milwaukee avenue.

The place selected for the meeting that night was not deemed suitable, and it had been the purpose of the leaders to change the place of meeting to Milwaukee avenue. It was too late. By seven o'clock a large crowd had gathered, and there was all the material for a first-class communistic meeting, and very soon a regular mass-meeting was organized on the west side of Market street. Some one arose and commenced making a speech, but the tenor of his remarks was not satisfactory to his audience, and a clamor was raised which compelled him to desist. Then another man, whose name was not announced, arose, and in fervid tones, and florid rhetoric, commenced to animadvert upon the conduct and purposes of the capitalists, and to paint in horrid colors the terrible slavery of the workingmen. He dwelt with telling emphasis upon the wickedness of Thomas A. Scott, John W. Garrett, and men like them, and declared that the press was owned and controlled by men who were in alliance with these arch-enemies of the laboring masses. This orator of "The Workingman's Party of the United States," soon concluded his remarks, as the crowd seemed to be altogether too merry in mood to attend to the long-drawn sentences of any man for any considerable length of time.

A Mr. Malton followed, and opened up a plan to heal all the wounds. His proposition was to send a delega

tion to Washington, demand that the President should convene Congress at once, that Congress should be instructed by the people to authorize the issue of Treasury notes, to the workingmen, worth dollar for dollar in Government bonds, to be redeemable within sixty days, in order that the laboring masses might be saved from starvation. The ideas of Mr Malton, were hailed with delight by the mass of men before him.

An ex-soldier of the Union army, next mounted the stage. He showed a crippled and distorted hand, which, he said, was the result of wounds received "while fighting for this glorious country." Five other scars of bullet wounds, he declared, adorned his body. He said when he entered the army, he was promised a life of honor and emolument in case he should be wounded in his country's service. "How had these promises been carried out?" Here he was a cripple, and receiving the beggarly pittance of six dollars a month. The promises made him were infamous lies. What cared the men who had reaped benefits from his services, for him now in his distress? He was in favor of making the bondholders, and social thieves, and political knaves feel the weight of an indignant people's wrath. "The veteran," continued at some length. Some one else took the stand and harangued the crowd for awhile in much the same strain.

The crowd was a very orderly one. It was composed of all classes of citizens. Many had gone from mere curiosity. There was no breach of the peace or other disorderly manifestations. Notwithstanding this fact, about this time a squad of police officers made their appearance, marching briskly down Market street, and im-

mediately charged the crowd congregated there, and very quickly dispersed them. It has not yet been made apparent by what right a peaceable assemblage of men were thus assailed by the representatives of lawful authority. But it was not a favorable time for a strict observance of the inhibitions of the supreme law of the land—the Constitution of the United States—by the police authorities of Chicago. It was assumed, that such meetings were about to, or might possibly lead to, a breach of the peace, then or at some other time. So the people were driven away.

At Maskell's Hall, on Desplaines street, another meeting was held. This one was under the auspices of the Labor League of Chicago. But the views advanced by the speakers were not much less impracticable than those entertained by the speakers at the meeting of the Internationalists. The speech of the evening was delivered by Mr. John McGilroy. A brief synopsis of his remarks will serve to show the spirit of the laboring men, in the great movement in progress.

Mr. McGilroy asserted, that "the workingman was the power of the world; labor had arisen in all its power, and demanded better times. What was the cause of the bad times was a question. If a man deposited his vote in the ballot-box wisely, there would be no trouble in the country." He would not attempt to make them believe that it was necessary for the Government to own the railroads nor the telegraph. Years ago there were two parties in the country; they fought, and the weaker was brought under, and slavery was abolished. They were merely machines, not valued as even slaves would be, but used eight or ten hours and thrown

aside. They had the right to choose their employers, and these employers had the liberty to discharge their men. The dollar of the fathers was good during the war; debts were paid with greenbacks, and justly, The European capitalists did not like greenbacks. Like Shylock, they wanted flesh, but not only flesh, but blood, and so the British corporations secured, with the use of a good deal of money, the act demonetizing the silver, which from time immemorial had been a good currency. The speaker said he had seen a newspaper which begged and cried for the demonetizing of silver, now crying for the remonetizing of silver, and the repeal of the Resumption act. It showed on the whole that the logic of circumstances was stronger than the arguments of any petty paper. Specimen bricks were used to show their wares by the owners of silver mines out West, that they who saw might buy. Such a specimen, although an unworthy one, was President Garrett, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who said he had a surplus of thirty-three million dollars. This gentleman said that hard times existed, and on this account the wages of his men must be reduced. Again, Henry Ward Beecher, the reverend gentleman, said that men could live on bread and water (hisses); he had physical ability which had been tested in various ways. Mr. McGilroy then read an extract from the *Times* giving Henry Ward Beecher's opinion on the strike. He advised his hearers if they struck, to strike quietly and decently, and not to go into incendiarism, and then the authorities would have no right to interfere. They could not hurt the railroad companies nor the insurance companies by setting fire to their property. All the property damaged must be paid by the workingmen,

for the city, county, and State would have to pay, and with the present County Commissioners who were inclined in a fair way to extras, they would get the full value of the property. He was glad that the railroads were partly acceding to the demands of the men. The cause of the trouble was the laws, not made by workingmen, but by lawyers, who knew little or nothing of the wants of the people. There were not enough workingmen in the halls of Congress. The railroads had speculative men to push them; they were too many, consequently they went into the hands of the Receiver. Congress, instead of giving to railroads subsidies, should colonize the farmer on the Government lands, and should loan to him in place of the capitalists. The city was overloaded with men. There had been hard times, and men had felt pinched. There had been no over production but an under-consuming.

Alderman Frank Lawler and others addressed the meeting, and advocated the workingman's cause.

So the day passed, the night came, and the crowds of men, women, and children thronged the streets by thousands. There had been no very serious conflicts during the day, and no lives had been lost. The police had been active and vigilant, the mob had been noisy, but not very combative. A hundred different places had been closed by striking workingmen and mobs of vicious idlers, throwing out of employment ten or fifteen thousand persons. The railroads had ceased to move freight trains. All commercial business had been suspended, and the situation of the city had become exceedingly critical.

The appearance of Chicago during the night of the

25th, reminded one of the situation in New York during the great draft riots of 1864. There was an uncounted number of tramps, thieves, pimps and vicious idlers of every grade, intermixed with the workingmen, encouraging them in their strike against their employers, and counseling them to proceed to extreme and lawless measures. In the neighborhood of Lake street, half intoxicated, slatternly, frail women of the lowest type, joined the throngs of roughs who frequent that locality, and made night hideous with their obscene exclamations, and horrible profanity. Of such as these were the petroleuses of the Parisian Commune of 1871. In certain parts of the city, unusual quiet prevailed during the afternoon and evening. All the saloons had been closed, the Mayor had sworn into service two thousand special policemen, General Torrence had called out two militia regiments, who were in their armories awaiting orders; several companies of the Twenty-Second United States Infantry were quartered in the Tabernacle, so as to be accessible to any possible scene of conflict in the city, and the Committee of Safety felt assured, that the law-abiding citizens would triumph over any possible mob of rioters. Including police, militia, United States regulars, and independent military companies, acting as a *posse*, it was estimated that there were no less than fifteen thousand men under arms, and ready for action on call, in Chicago, on the night of the 25th of July, 1877. The sentiment in favor of the maintenance of the law was strong and decisive.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PISTOLS AND CLUBS.

It Comes at Last—Riotous Roughs—Socialists Serving Satan—A Well Organized Police Force—The Military all Ready—Hot Heads at Halstead Street—Resisting Arrest—The Police Persist, are Resisted and resort to Pistols and Clubs—Intense Excitement—A Scene of Bloodshed and Death—At the Viaduct—Triumphant Law—Roughs Retire—Dead in the Streets—Then Peace.

The violent demonstrations of the mob on Wednesday, leading to a fusilade on Halstead street in the evening, it had been hoped, would terminate the disturbances in Chicago. And this hope was based on the reasonable ground that several railroad companies, employing a large number of men, had at once acceded to the demands of their employes, thereby removing all cause of complaint on the part of their employes, and consequently withdrawing therefrom any active sympathy with the riotous conduct of workingmen throughout the country. But well founded as were such hopes, they were doomed to be disappointed. It was not the railroadmen, not even the sober, industrious workingmen of other trades in Chicago, who had seized upon and were directing the riotous movements in that city. The same dreadful elements that had come to the front in Baltimore, in Pittsburgh, New York, Newark, Buffalo and, indeed, in all the cities where riotous demonstrations had been made, were present in Chicago. Behind the discontent of the poor-paid workingmen, ap-

peared the horrid front of the Commune. It was "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," known in Europe as the "Workingmen's International Association," that had assumed the reins, and were endeavoring to drive the car of civilization over the precipice of destruction. It mattered not to such men as Van Patten, Schilling, Parsons, Clynych, and other leaders of the malcontents, whether the railroadmen had succeeded in carrying their point. It was sufficient for their purposes that the public mind was excited, that the whole country was in an uproar, that a vast number of men were idle, poverty stricken, hopeless, and these were fit materials out of which to manufacture mobs. And they proceeded to organize the idle, and the vicious into formidable, and dangerous bands of rioters.

The measures adopted by the Mayor, and municipal authorities, were not amiss, as events proved. Ample as were the preparations, thorough as were the organization of the law-abiding citizens, the preparations were not too extensive, nor the organizations uncalled for, in the emergency which had arrived.

The morning of the 26th was damp, murky and hot. A rain had fallen the night before, which had not served to cool the temperature, or cause a breeze to break the sultriness of the steamy atmosphere. And the passions of men had not cooled during the still hours of the last half of the preceding night. The people of Chicago, not unused to exciting events, rose that morning, hopeful, but ready for whatever emergency they might be called upon to meet. Bands of armed men were stationed at many convenient points in the city, the police were thoroughly organized and carefully instructed in regard to the

nature of the service they were expected to perform. Several companies of United States regulars, which had been placed at the disposal of the Governor, by the President, and by him ordered to act under the orders of Mayor Heath, were quartered in the Tabernacle, a building convenient to any point likely to be threatened. By order of the Mayor, all saloons had been closed, and peaceable citizens, women and children, had been warned to avoid going into the streets. The committee of safety organized as a civil *posse*, acting under the orders of the Mayor, and Sheriff of Cook County, were divided into companies, and patrolled the streets in nearly every section of the city. All business of every character had been completely suspended. There were no busy hands nor toiling brains in the great commercial marts of the metropolis of the lakes. There was a mingled feeling of apprehension and hopefulness agitating every breast throughout the mighty hive of humanity.

There are reasons for the belief that the lawless elements had not been idle during the night. Quiet consultations had been held, and a sort of understanding between various bands and cliques of the turbulent elements, as to what their course should be, had been arrived at. Such was the situation in Chicago, on the morning of the 26th of July, 1877. The city was resting above a volcano, that gave token of a coming eruption. That it was not involved in sudden and certain destruction, is believed to be due to the careful and extensive preparations which had been made. The action of Mayor Heath, throughout, showed him to be a man of calm disposition, cool judgment, and possessed of great practical wisdom. In every movement made

during those anxious days, he displayed a calmness that fitted him to judge correctly, a judgment that enabled him to decide justly, on every issue presented. Knowing that numbers of honest, but illiterate and unreflecting men, would naturally be drawn into the maelstrom of passion engendered by the mob, he directed that life should not be lightly regarded, and ordered his forces to be as sparing as possible in the destruction of life. Sternly resolved upon enforcing the law, he yet retained the feelings of a man, and to his humanity and justice, in ordering the municipal forces to fire high, and spare life whenever it was possible, many a poor, misguided man in Chicago was spared to his family, to his friends, perhaps to a career of honor and usefulness. In this respect, the conduct of Mayor Heath, contrasted with that of some other official characters, is like a ray of light in a cave of darkness. He might have decreed the death of hundreds — many innocent ones among them—but he did not. Nevertheless, it is contended by some, that like many others during those days, Mayor Heath placed himself in a position amenable to censure, by violating the supreme law of the land in a manner that requires the severest reprobation. He assumed to interdict the meeting of societies in their own halls, in palpable violation of the first article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees “the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” What right had Mayor Heath, Chief of Police Hickey, Governor Cullom, aye, or the President of the United States to interdict the meeting of the coopers or the moulders, or any other assemblage of citizens? What

right had they to interfere with any one on account of words spoken? The "freedom of speech shall not be abridged." But, his mistake may be excused.

These things are mentioned here, because it is important to remember that lawlessness should meet with prompt and stern reprobation from every patriotic citizen, whether it is developed among illiterate laborers or among the cultivated leaders of social and political opinions. There is some excuse for the ignorant, who, misguided by evil counselors, may be betrayed into the commissions of unlawful acts. There can be no extenuating plea in favor of the cultivated, and certainly no possible plea, can be entered in behalf of those who are the administrators of the law.

The citizens of Chicago were not long kept in doubt as to the purposes of the mob on Thursday morning. At a very early hour men began to assemble in various localities, little knots at first, they were the nuclei of great multitudes. At seven o'clock in the morning, the city was already in a feverish condition, and the streets were thronged by an excited populace. The hopes which had been entertained by some, that there would be no demonstration of the mob on Thursday, was dissipated.

As early as seven o'clock, intelligence reached police headquarters, that lawless mobs were beginning to concentrate at the Halstead street viaduct, where a fight had occurred the preceding night. Rioters came from all parts of the city, and before nine o'clock not less than ten thousand persons were present. It was evident that the mob was bent on violence, and hesitated in their maddened frenzy at nothing. The north approach to the viaduct, and the structure itself, was thronged by an

immense mass of rioters. When the crowd seemed in the highest state of excitement, sixty men under officer Frainer arrived, and the moment the rioters beheld the approach of the police officers, they broke into small gangs and fled howling like fiends. The police followed on a run in pursuit of them, firing as they ran. A counter charge was made by the rioters in an attempt to pass the police on the viaduct, in order that there might be a force of desperadoes on each side of the beleaguered officers of the law. The scheme was frustrated by the free use of billies, and display of pistols, from which blank cartridges were fired.

The mob then proceeded to Sixteenth street where a halt was made. A large body turned into Sixteenth street and a similar crowd went east in the direction of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad freight houses. There was a brief moment of inaction, during which the police formed in line and prepared for a charge.

This was a signal for a perfect shower of stones, pistol shots, and other missiles. For a little time the wildest disorder prevailed. It was evident that the police could not resist the overwhelming forces arrayed against them half an hour. A discharge of weapons was kept up at short intervals in reply to the stones that were being continually hurled at them from all sides. With every moment of delay, during which the rioters were unharmed, the belief grew in their minds that the police were not firing bullets, and they began surging nearer a central rallying point. Several times did a few of the more daring attempt to break in upon the sturdy band of police, and each time they were successfully repulsed. At last the

police received intimation that re-enforcements were coming up Halstead street. They justly concluded that their situation became more precarious each moment.

The police, seeing the impossibility of resisting the mighty tide of humanity which was surging down upon them, hastily formed in line, and, raising a great shout, started to retreat across the viaduct. The roughs rushed forward in pursuit, with shouts and yells that startled every listener. It seemed as if all the infernal imps had come from their gloomy retreat to curse the earth by their presence. Flight after flight of stones, hurled by strong arms, assailed the police officers as they moved away on Halstead street. The police attempted to guard their retreat at first, but soon found it absolutely impossible, and turned and fled. The race for life was then one of the wildest and most exciting that could be imagined. The vast throng hung close upon the heels of the police, and did not cease until the latter arrived at Fifteenth street, where a relief force had just arrived. This consisted of a squad of fifty mounted police.—armed with repeating rifles. When the rioters saw these they turned to retreat. Then began the battle, the police keeping up constant firing, and using clubs to good advantage. In this affair only two persons were killed, one of whom was a bright-eyed boy, who received a death-blow from a stone.

The numbers comprising the mob began to increase, and the police felt incompetent to master the situation. About eleven o'clock, the second regiment appeared with two pieces of artillery, which produced something like a panic in the ranks of the infuriated mob, the rioters scattered in various directions, but continued to hurl stones

and fire their pistols. As they began to disperse a mounted troop of members of the Grand Army of the Republic were fired into by occupants living in a private house. The parties who did the shooting were arrested by the police and locked up.

The second battle of the day occurred in the forenoon, on Twelfth street, where a large crowd of rioters greeted the officers with yells and threats. The usual weapons, stones and other missiles, filled the air. A number of officers were seriously hurt. The crowd surged into Turner Hall on Twelfth street, and picked up chairs and used them for weapons. Revolvers were fired from all directions. Five of the rioters were killed and over thirteen badly wounded. After twelve o'clock three companies of regular troops arrived in the locality of the riot, and their presence had the desired effect, and by three o'clock P. M. the mob was pretty well dispersed. In that part of the city, during the afternoon, every precaution was made to prevent a further spread of the riot. At five o'clock four more companies of regulars arrived in the city, and citizens organized in every form and manner for the protection of life and property. Saloons were closed and business was suspended. The Board of Trade had adjourned. Business men entered into various organizations which were stationed at the threatened points throughout the city.

During the hours between, say nine o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the evening, Chicago was suffering in the throes of an excitement which is indescribable. The newspaper offices were besieged by vast crowds, eager to get the least bit of intelligence from the so-called battle that was in progress in the neighbor-

hood of the Halstead street viaduct, and on Sixteenth street. Mounted couriers rode in wild haste from point to point, and reports of the most terrible massacres and slaughters were repeated from lip to lip, and believed by thousands. Men turned pale at the blood-curdling recital of horrors at the viaduct, and women swooned when the horrifying reports fell upon their ears. The most exaggerated stories prevailed concerning the character of the collision at the Halstead street viaduct. Ten blocks away from the spot where the mob and police were engaged in something of a fight, such stories as were circulated were perfectly astounding. At one time a report flew, and grew in magnitude and horror as it flew through the city, to the effect that the mob had vanquished the police force of nearly a hundred men, had captured more than thirty of them, and had deliberately massacred the whole number, before the eyes of the citizens, who were powerless to assist them. At another time it was reported that the regular United States troops had gone out Halstead street, with a four-gun battery charged with grape shot and canister, and two Gatling guns, and had opened fire on the mob with the most horribly destructive effects—that hundreds—nay thousands of the rioters had been killed, and that Halstead and Sixteenth streets were literally flowing with blood.

The effect of such reports, when there were no means of ascertaining the truth, was to excite the people beyond all precedent. To ladies pent up in their houses during these exciting scenes, hearing nothing but the exaggerated reports that flew through the streets, with brothers, husbands, fathers, and lovers, engaged in the strife, the day was one of unmitigated misery. The anguish of

doubt, the deceitfulness of appearances, the alternations of fear and of hope, of courage and despair, were some of the mental distresses that tormented them during that memorable day.

During the afternoon, and the early part of the evening, there were few exciting incidents, and the city was comparatively quiet. The hopes of the people were once more raised, the belief had become general, that the mob had dispersed, and would not gather again.

At half-past eleven at night a large mob gathered at the corner of Sixteenth and Halstead streets, augmented by the presence of a great number of Bridgeport roughs. Indications at first pointed to as serious an affair as the fights occurring in the morning, at the same locality. The mob were evidently just as wild with excitement as at any time during the day, but upon the approach of the Second Regiment of militia, all indications toward actual violence passed away, after stones had been hurled in the air with the desired effect, and after three soldiers and two policemen had been badly wounded. Some of the rioters were dangerously wounded.

At a late hour in the evening of the 26th, the quiet suburban village of Lawndale, was the scene of one of the most brutal murders which disgraced the city during the continuance of the riots. The circumstances under which it was committed, were these: Mr. James White, a respected member of the Chicago Board of Trade, acting in the capacity of a special police officer, was patrolling his beat in that village, when he saw a person whose actions appeared to be suspicious. Mr. White proceeded to arrest him, and was conducting him to the station, or headquarters in the village. The person under arrest

went quietly enough for some distance, but finally concluded not to submit to the arrest, and began to resist. While engaged in the struggle with his captor, the prisoner, suddenly drew a revolver, presented it at the head of Mr. White, and fired. The ball penetrated the brain and the unfortunate gentleman fell and expired in a few minutes. The fellow who had committed the horrible deed then fled, and was not arrested. The next day the merchants of the Board of Trade raised the sum of three thousand five hundred dollars, which was appropriated for the benefit of the family of the deceased merchant.

The field of operation during the day was confined to the district of the city between Canal and Green streets, and between Twelfth and Twenty-second streets. It was within these limits that the rioting was confined. In other parts of the city there were occasionally threatening demonstrations, but nothing came of them, save alarm to a few timid souls.

All the afternoon and during the early part of the evening the police were busied in making arrests. Numerous persons were taken to the lockups. Among them some who had been particularly conspicuous in inciting the rioters. One of the notable facts connected with the events of this somewhat eventful day, was the presence and active participation of women in the riots. In the neighborhood of the viaduct on Halstead street, they were very demonstrative. Taking up positions in their houses, they encouraged the male members of the mob to attack the police, and were excessively abusive to every one who wore a white shirt, or a uniform. Nor did they stop with abusive words, and insulting epithets. Many of

them provided themselves with heaps of stones, pans of mud, and other dangerous and unpleasant munitions of war, and vigorously hurled them from the windows of houses upon the officers contending in the streets below. Not a few of these viragoes had pistols which they fired, sometimes with evil effect, at the policemen.

During the day the mob captured one of the Metropolitan Telegraph Stations, and prevented any despatches from being sent during the time they were in possession.

The Second Regiment of state troops were held as a reserve to the police force, during the conflict between the mob and the officers of the law. There was also a large force of special officers and independent companies, acting under the orders of the Mayor, in readiness to co-operate with the regular police force.

The newspapers of Chicago gave a somewhat exaggerated, but a very minute and complete history of all the incidents in connection with the conflicts between the police and the rioters. After the smoke had cleared away, after the fight was over and the mob dispersed, the before countless number of the slain of those fierce engagements was counted, and the number of those who sought and found gory graves were just seven. If Mr. White be regarded as one of the victims of the riot, then eight human beings had met death by violence since the riots began. This is the net result of various conflicts, which were heralded to the world as sanguinary battles, and the eight persons who lost their lives were all the dead of that "fearful carnage."

If the day had been one of the most intense excitement, the evening was one of deepest anxiety to the people of Chicago. But except the gathering about

Sixteenth and Halstead streets, which dispersed on the approach of the police and the military about eleven o'clock in the evening, the night wore away without further alarms.

There is one thing which particularly requires to be noticed at this point. Among the killed and the wounded, among all the prisoners captured, there was not a single railroadman. This is a significant fact. Who were the strikers? The Pariahs of the streets, the Communists, the idle and the vicious, who were not workingmen, who would not work for any wages, at any time. The railroadmen struck for higher wages, or to resist the reduction of the pitiful pittance they received for the dangerous services they performed, but they were, as a class, neither rioters, incendiaries, thieves nor murderers. The attempt to class the railroadmen with the mobs that showed so ugly a front in some of the large cities of the country, deserves the stern reprobation of every man, actuated by a sense of justice and humanity. They do not deserve it, and those who claim that workingmen constituted the mob, do so without evidence, and are guilty of slandering a useful class of citizens.

The day of excitement had passed away in Chicago, the events of the day had become a part of the history of the times. Another day had dawned, and the rumor-mongers were early busy with all sorts of startling reports. There were numerous assertions made that the mob was preparing for a more desperate re-encounter with the police; that they had secured arms and were organized, and would attempt to capture the city. The extravagance of the rumors circulated the day before,

had a tendency to discredit the sensational stories that were circulated during the morning of the 27th. The adage, in time of peace prepare for war, had been acted upon by the military authorities, acting under the direction of the Mayor and Chief of Police. During that morning the forces were distributed as follows: Stock Yards, sixty regulars; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Freight House, Sixteenth street, two hundred; Twelfth street bridge, three hundred and fifty regulars of the Second Regiment; corner Twelfth and Halstead streets, two hundred of the First Regiment; Canal Park and South Morgan street, fifty of the First Regiment; south side of the Gas-works, General Lieb's Battery, numbering sixty-five men; north side Water-works, sixty-five veterans; Union Street Police Station, fifty of the Second Regiment; corner Chicago and Milwaukee avenues, a possible rendezvous of Communists, sixty veterans; Halstead street, north of Twelfth, forty of the Post Office Guard, while Dalye and Walrus Mounted Guard were constantly patrolling that dangerous section.

Four hundred regulars were at the lake front awaiting orders. The regular and special police were at the center of the trouble. Citizens with police powers were in every section of the city.

There were some small crowds collected on Halstead street, and on Archer avenue, but these evinced no disposition to resort to violence. The sensation-mongers had no basis from which to send forth their exciting rumors. There was no mob, and of course there could be no riot. The mob had dissolved. The history of the whole day's events would simply be a record of the evolutions of the mounted militia, and the police. The

Mayor issued another proclamation, in which he declared that the city authorities had dispersed all lawless bands in the city, and law and order were restored. He urged and requested all business men and employers generally, to resume work and give employment, as much as possible, to their workmen. He considered this the first duty of the business community. He said he was amply able to protect them and their workmen.

Some unimportant strikes in stables, and among cigar-makers took place, but there was no unpleasant demonstrations in connection with them.

The railroads were resuming business, and the city, though not in its normal condition of commercial activity, was rapidly recovering from the depression caused by the excitement of the four or five days preceding.

Chicago had indeed passed through an ordeal and had come out of the difficulties, which at one time were so threatening, with less loss of life and destruction of property than was expected.

There are no reasons for doubting the statements made at the time that a large number of people stopped in Chicago, who would not hesitate to apply the torch to buildings, or the knife to throats, if only the opportunity should present itself. Nor are there wanting proofs of the fact that a formidable attempt was made to create such an opportunity. It was fortunately frustrated. The only thing to be lamented was the necessity to take life in the suppression of disorders. This, however, could not be avoided. The misguided, hapless beings, who were hurried from the busy scenes of life on that day of turmoil and excitement, were men after all, men with dispositions not so greatly unlike those which

prompt other men, actuated by emotions of kindness and love, and wrath and hate, just as other men whose position in life and surrounding circumstances alone gives them a precedence and a preference in the world's regard. Were the seven men who met the messengers of death in Chicago more wicked than the thousands who escaped? We say certainly not.

Meanwhile so far as the great strike affected Chicago it was practically at an end. There were a few days of uncertainty, perhaps anxiety in the public mind, but no further actual trouble was experienced, and within the week business resumed its wanted channels, and Chicago was at peace.

CHAPTER XXV.

ANXIOUS DAYS ELSEWHERE IN ILLINOIS.

At the State Capital—Peoria Strikes—Miners in the Southern Section—The Braidwood Troubles—Troops Sent Down—Matters at Mattoon—Effingham Idlers—The Trainmen at Many Points—Shutting Up Shops in Various Provincial Towns—Peace Restored.

On the 23rd day of July the coal companies shut down their mines at Mount Carbon and Murphysboro. The same evening a mass-meeting was called at Murphysboro of all miners, mechanics, and laborers on the Cairo and St. Louis Narrow-gauge. The object of the meeting was to consider whether they should all strike. Some of the miners had been out of work for some weeks, and their cry was for bread. The payment of the miners at Mount Carbon, and of the railroadmen of the Carbondale and Grand Tower road, due the 23rd, was postponed.

The employes of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad made a demand Monday, the 23rd, for ten per cent. increase of wages. The number of men engaged by the road at Quincy was about three hundred; none of them favored a strike.

Other workingmen in the city offered to assist them, in case they struck, but the offer was declined. The Company stopped trains between Quincy and Galesburg, Tuesday, the 24th. Freight cars were sent out to stations along the road and side-tracked. Passenger trains were

running regularly. The Wabash road had no trouble at Quincy. The evening passenger train for Toledo was abandoned on the 23rd, and did not run for several days. The morning trains went out as usual. There was no rail communication between Quincy and St. Louis. A number of tramps arrived in the city of Quincy, attracted by prospects of a row. The National Guard and Quincy Guard were on duty at their armories.

A small squad of railroad strikers arrived at Mount Vernon, Illinois, on the evening of the 25th, and caused some commotion in the machine shops of the St. Louis and Southeastern Railway. Three shops give employment to some eighty men, nearly all of whom had families, and sat under their own vines and fig trees, and had never been heard to express dissatisfaction with the wages they received, though this was denied by men on the strike. About nine o'clock in the morning several men, claiming to be acting under the authority of the executive committee of the strikers at East St. Louis, visited the shops for the purpose of explaining the situation to the men, and inducing them to quit work.

This committee was headed by Marion Rupert, an old fireman on the Southeastern Railroad. The committee were met by Mr. L. B. Salisbury, master mechanic, when a pleasant interview relating to the business in hand took place. Mr. Salisbury stated that while the men in the shops were at perfect liberty to quit work, if they so desired, they would be protected in their purposes to continue at work. At noon the men in the shops held a meeting to consider the situation and resolved to quit work at six o'clock in the evening of the 25th.

Six companies of Militia, under Brigadier-General Pavey, were drilled in the Court House yard at Mount Vernon, and held in readiness for any call that might be made upon them. Meanwhile, no freight was received or sent forward. Farmers could find no outlet for their grain. Business of all kinds was stagnant, and a most deplorable state of things existed.

On the 23d of July, all the freight cars on the Springfield division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and all on the Chicago and Alton Railroad were ordered to be sent to Springfield, Illinois. Several freight trains on the latter road arrived at Springfield from the South. A double force of police was ordered on duty. The striking miners, four hundred in number, held a meeting at midnight at Springfield.

The excitement was intense at that place all day. The Governor was in receipt of numerous telegrams from all parts of the State, offering the services of men if needed, to suppress any riot which might occur. The preparations were so complete, that in one hour not less than five thousand men could be embodied under the militia plan, exclusive of the two regiments in Chicago. These men were nearly all veterans, and all under the command of their old commanders. They were chiefly from the country districts, and were armed with breech-loaders. A great supply of ammunition for which arms was in the arsenal at Springfield, was well guarded. There were also one thousand Enfields with ammunition and equipments. The Secretary of War offered a supply of muskets and ammunition, and these arrived at designated points that night. The Governor and Adjutant General had hopes that the strikers would not pro-

ceed to acts of violence, and had confidence in the ability of the authorities to maintain peace, or in the last resort to suppress violence. Despatches from Chicago gave assurance of the ability to maintain peace there.

Colonel Roe, United States Marshal at Springfield, received a despatch from Judge Drummond, at Chicago, ordering him to proceed at once to East St. Louis, and if there should be an unlawful interference by any, one in the running of the railroads in the possession of James H. Wilson, as receiver of the same by orders of the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Southern district of Illinois, he was directed to use his authority, as Marshal of the United States, to put a stop to such interference, and to protect the receiver in the operation of the railroad, and for so doing, the despatch should be his warrant.

The railroad was the St. Louis and Southeastern. United States Marshal Roe, had a conference with the Governor as to the amount of force which could be supplied to support the Marshal, if requested, and it was considered, upon looking over the whole situation, the force could be supplied to protect the line of the road. Marshal Roe, left Springfield for St. Louis, to examine the situation personally before he proceeded to make any movement. He was an officer of experience in the army, of undoubted spirit, and as it happened had already been called upon to suppress riotous proceedings as Marshal. It was not doubted that his conduct would be prudent and effective.

At Waterloo, Ill., July 28th, Charles Frick, Sheriff of Monroe county, received a telegram from F. E. Canada, Superintendent of the Cairo and St. Louis Railroad, to hold

the special train from Murphysboro, and to hold all railroad property in Monroe county subject to the order of the Company, and arrest Conductor Adams, one of the ringleaders of the strikers, which was done that evening by Mr. Frick and his armed *posse*. There were fifteen strikers aboard. No resistance was offered, Adams permitting himself to be quietly taken. Many of the citizens of Waterloo were fearful that the action of the Sheriff would incite a riotous visit from some of the mob in East St. Louis.

The negro miners who were driven from the Braidwood mines were encamped at Washington, at the Coal Companies expense, waiting until the trouble was settled, so they could resume work. On the 28th, the Governor ordered the troops to go to Braidwood, and about eight hundred and fifty men went to that point.

Orders were received for the Aurora Light Guard, Company E. Third Regiment, to hold themselves in readiness for marching orders. Captain Vosburg at once laid in a supply of ammunition, and prepared for duty. On the morning of the 28th, marching orders were received, and the company, numbering about forty, left for Braidwood, via Chicago, reporting to Major-General Ducat. A constant patrol was kept up about Aurora, and especially about the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad yards. A number of strange men were seen in the shop-yard by the guard, and ordered to halt, and give an account of themselves. They ran, firing several shots as they retreated. No one was injured, and only one man was arrested, he being a hard looking customer, who refused to say anything about himself, or his and his pals' object was in the Company's

yard. It was thought their object was to fire the large shops of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Company, located there. The man was kept in confinement for some days. All was quiet at Aurora. Trainmen and engineers all along the line were at work. The shopmen had given up all idea of striking, and worked ten hours a day.

At Decatur, on the 25th, a committee of strikers visited the different manufacturing establishments, and ordered them to close, saying if they did not, force would be brought to compel them. The order was acceded to. The strikers said they would hold all trains until their demands were complied with. They numbered several hundred.

At Peoria, July 19, the police arrested the ringleaders in the riot of the previous day, and housed them safely in jail, after a desperate hand-to-hand encounter, in which the military took part. Fortunately none of the rioters were hurt. There were additional arrests of the ringleaders the following day. This action seemingly broke the mob, which made no show at all the next day. Passenger trains left on the usual time, guarded by troops, and undisturbed by the mob. The jail was guarded by military, and the Board of Trade guarded the gas-works and water-works.

At Champaign, July 29th, much excitement was occasioned on account of the action of strikers on the Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western road. Intelligence was received that a company of strikers were *en-route* from Urbana to Champaign, to stop a train on that road. Mayor Trevell promptly put his forces, including militia, in order to prevent riotous demonstrations. The invaders marched

through the streets to the depot and found the train gone. They hastened out of town failing of any pretext for a riot. They asserted their purpose to hold out, but their power was broken. Mr. Cooper, foreman of the shops at Urbana, notified all shop hands, except the leaders of the strike, to begin work. Freight engines went out with freight trains.

The governor was notified that the Illinois Central Railroad Company was in possession of its property at Chicago, and proposed to put on freight trains but that the road was blockaded at Mattoon, Effingham, Decatur and Carbondale, and the officers of the road wanted the Governor to give them protection. The Governor at once ordered the Sheriffs of the counties in which these blockades were maintained to call out their *posses* and break the blockades. The Harris Guards of Petersburg were brought to Springfield, and went on duty at the State Arsenal, relieving the Governor's Guards, which were sent to Decatur. The Governor's Guards occupied the Junction at Decatur, thus protecting the Illinois Central, the Wabash and the St. Louis branch at that point.

Major Bluford Wilson telegraphed from St. Louis, that upon taking the proper steps, there was no doubt ^{enough} sufficient United States force could be thrown into East St. Louis to take control of the town. The Governor was anxious before calling for any further aid from the United States, to try other measures, which he hoped would be effectual.

A number of the leading citizens of Southern Illinois having consented to act as deputy United States Marshals for the purpose of restoring order and protecting prop-

erty along the line of the St. Louis and Southeastern Railway, the following appointments were made by telegraph: M. K. Lawler and J. J. Cassels of Equality, and J. M. Crebs of Carmi. Mike Lawler is the old Colonel of the Eighteenth Illinois, who won his stars and lost his leg at the battle of the Big Black. Crebs is a lawyer and a democratic politician, and Cassels is equally well known as a leading republican of that part of the State.

The representatives of all the roads at East St. Louis asked the Governor to allow General Jeff. C. Davis, U. S. A., to occupy East St. Louis and the Governor replied in the affirmative.

Governor Shelby M. Cullem, of Illinois issued a proclamation on the 27th, in which he recited the story told by other Governors before, that certain persons, active in violation of law had assumed to interfere and prevent the movement of railroad trains in that State, and had sought to intimidate honest workingmen engaged in the avocations by which they earned their bread, and to compel them to cease from their labor; and that such condition of affairs continued, and was intolerable, entailing disastrous consequences, the nature and extent of which was impossible to foresee, he therefore commanded all such riotous and disorderly persons to desist and return to their homes, and called upon all Sheriffs, Mayors and other officers charged with the execution of the laws to break up all conspiracies against the rights of property and persons, and to that end to employ every lawful means in their power, and to enjoin upon all citizens to assist in bringing about restoration of order, resumption of business, moving of trains and revival of manufactures.

He further gave notice that the entire military force

at his disposal as commander-in-chief of military, would be employed for the support of the civil authorities in the endeavor, and that orders would be given to troops to use whatever amount of force might be necessary to compel obedience to law.

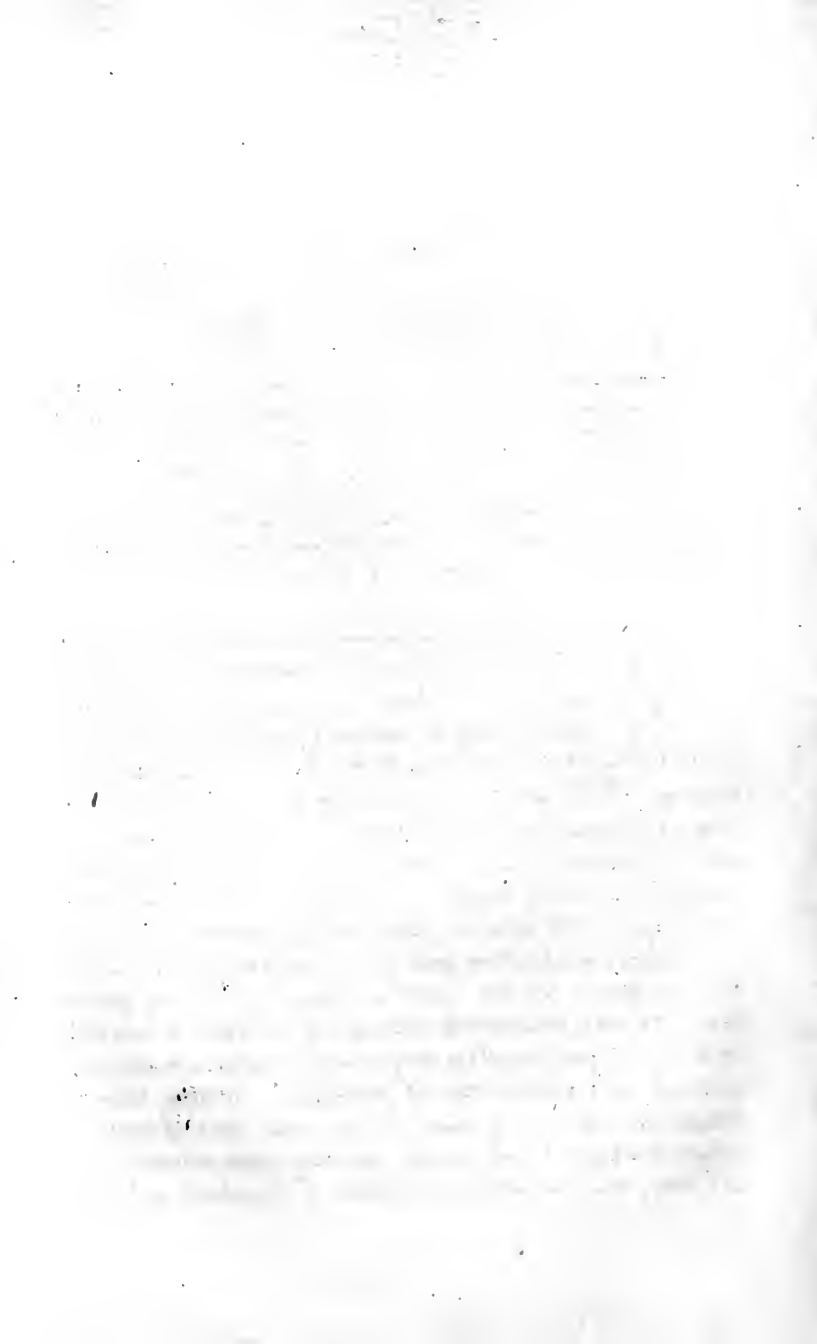
The most serious trouble which occurred in the State of Illinois, outside of Chicago, was experienced at Braidwood, a small mining town in the northern central part of the State. Sometime before the general labor uprising, the coal miners employed in mines at that place, had struck for better wages. The company operating the mines refused to accede to the demands of the miners, and imported a large number of colored miners, to take the places vacated by the striking miners. This greatly exasperated the white miners, and the company experienced no little trouble in protecting their new employes from the vengeance of the old miners. However, they managed to keep the colored men at work until the general uprising, when the striking miners rose en-mass and expelled the colored miners from the village. Indeed, they were fortunate to escape with their lives. General Ducat, with a strong force of State troops, was sent to Braidwood to restore order. For a time it appeared that very serious trouble would follow the advent of the militia. The striking miners were bold, defiant, and reckless in bearing. On several occasions collisions seemed inevitable. But by careful management on the part of General Ducat, bloodshed was avoided. The colored miners returned on the 29th, and quietly resumed work in the pits. The state of feeling entertained against them by the strikers, however, was such that it was necessary for a guard to remain at Braidwood for several days, in order to protect them.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BLOCKADE OF THE GREAT BRIDGE.

Excitement in East St. Louis—Scenes on “Bloody Island”—Council of the Trainmen—A Night at Heim’s Hall—Hite’s Thrilling Oratorical Flight—“Oppressed Labor”—“The Executive Committee”—Bold Jack Benson—Organized for Business—Across the Great Bridge—Trains Stopped—Slight Dissension Among the Strikers—Blue Coats in the Early Morning—General Jeff. C. Davis Moves Over—Resigning Potentates—Governor Cullom—General Bates—Exemplary Conduct of the Strikers—The Last Scene.

At East St. Louis the situation on the morning of the 22d of July, bid fair to be one of great moment to East St. Louis; while those who knew the situation across the river were already beginning to appreciate what an awful calamity might befall St. Louis if the railroad strikers should take it into their heads to play as desperate a game as was played at Pittsburgh. East St. Louis is situated on the Illinois bank, and as its name implies is East of St. Louis, being directly opposite. It was once an island, a wild tract of land, and is famous in history as “Bloody Island,” on account of the many duels fought on its shores, in the early history of St. Louis, when the code was recognized among “gentlemen of honor” as the only way to settle disputes of a serious character, and the only proper way of avenging wounded honor. Since the reign of railroads it has been the converging point of a network of all the railways approaching from the East, and has naturally become a populous and im-





ATTEMPT TO ARREST A RIOTER.

important point. It will therefore at once be seen that as the railroads which fed St. Louis with freight and passengers converged here, and thence across the great bridge and through the tunnel to the Union Depot, the strikers would be almost invincible if they could but once gain a firm foothold at East St. Louis. They were not slow in finding out, nor were the railway companies long in ascertaining that the enemy had met them, and that they were in the hands of the foe.

At twelve o'clock, on the night of July 21st, the brakemen, firemen, and some switchmen, employed on the numerous lines of railroads centering at East St. Louis, had struck for the same pay as had been received before the January reduction. Reports had come in over the Ohio and Mississippi road, that "the boys at Seymour, Indiana, had set the ball to rolling the night previous." The news spread from mouth to mouth. The Toledo, Wabash and Western employes were receiving the same pay as had been previously given before the general reduction on the other roads, but the employes on this line, ceased work in order to assist their fellow workers, on the other roads.

Meetings had been appointed for Saturday night, at eight o'clock, p. m., and by that hour East St. Louis presented a livelier scene than it had ever presented before. At the time appointed every one, from humble section hands to the skilled engineers, were alive to the importance of the event. The meeting was appointed for Heim's Hall, a spacious place, but its dimensions were not sufficient to contain the crowd, and other meetings were held in the open air, addressed by speakers who

were fired with enthusiasm in behalf of the laboring men.

There was nothing to do on the tracks, because the General Freight Agents had telegraphed from St. Louis to Sub-agents at East St. Louis not to let any freight go until further orders. Thus, for the first time, people began to see that the pulsation in the great rail artery, which crossed the bridge, had stopped, and for the first time they realized the condition this predicament had placed on the commerce of the largest city west of the Mississippi, and hundreds flocked over from St. Louis to the Eastern suburb, to read the men who had dared to place the embargo upon traffic, and to listen to the stories of their wrongs as portrayed by their leaders.

The meeting at Heim's Hall was presided over by a man by the name of George Kessenger, brakeman on the Wabash Line. A damper was cast over the meeting by a call from a few lookers-on present, for a speech from Hon. Luke H. Hite, ex-member of the Illinois Legislature, a lawyer, and of some prominence in the city, but hardly to be called a workingman in the sense the strikers viewed the matter. Mr. Hite is a leading politician of St. Clair County, in which East St. Louis is located, and did not wait for a second asking to mount the platform, where he dwelt upon the relation of capital to labor. He said that the war just inaugurated was a war of the laboring men to gain what was their own. He severely denounced the system of paying high salaries to railroad officers, and "sapping," as he said, "the very vitals of the laboring men to support the luxuries of the officers." Mr. Hite's speech was of such tone and character as caused it to be received with great applause,

and in some instances, violent vociferation. After portraying the wrongs of the strikers in their most exaggerated colorings, he told them that they held the key, and they could lock or unlock the commerce of a great city, even shut it out from the world. Great excitement here prevailed. Voices of "we will hold it!" All h—l can't stop us!" were heard from various parts of the crowd. Perhaps no speech could have added more fuel to the flame than Mr. Hite's. A thrilling orator; possessed of no mean intellectual capacity; he fired minds that might have otherwise thought differently of the movement with the morrow's dawn. Other speeches followed until midnight found the strikers at fever heat, inspired by the spirit of leaders, some of whom were demagogues, but others, as thoroughly in earnest as Patrick Henry or Oliver Cromwell in their respective revolutionary times. Cheer after cheer was given by the rank and file for the men who had espoused their cause, and the few merchants and citizens who had come across the river from St. Louis, to see what they supposed were a handful of ragged men, went back to the city shaking their heads ominously. To add to the fears of the law-abiding, all sorts of rumors flew through the air. It was whispered that there was a car-load of gunpowder on the track, and that it was to be used in blowing down the sides of the tunnel. Another was that there were several car loads of coal oil at the freight depots, which the strikers could at once run on to the bridge, and in a few moments destroy the Eastern approach, which is composed of wood-work. Other wild flights of imagination were indulged in, and there was no wonder that the visitors from the Western end of

the bridge were frightened at its prospect, or that the humble burgers of East St. Louis, passed a restless night.

Before the close of the Saturday night meetings, a fair organization was furnished for carrying out a programme of operations. Committees were appointed, as general conference bodies, to act together in electing an Executive Committee, which was to be considered the head of authority by all the strikers, and their orders were to be obeyed strictly. The following were the committee appointed.

Ohio and Mississippi—P. Rodgers, J. Lynch and Dan Burke.

Vandalia—J. McCarthy, Chas. Hunt and Wm. Walpole.

Indianapolis and St. Louis—Wm. Blanchard, Con. Connors and John Rouch.

Union Railway and Transit Company—Jack McCabe, Joe James and Wm. Shea.

Foreman Switchmen—Jas. Lynch, Tim Sullivan and Dennis Rush.

These Committees, met in secret session the next day and elected an Executive Committee, but the names of the members, were not publicly announced.

Monday, the 23rd, opened on a strange scene at East St. Louis. The Executive Committee at once determined not to stop passenger trains, but to stop all freight trains. There were at least five hundred strikers at East St. Louis. They took possession of the Relay Depot, where all passenger trains meet, captured the telegraph wires leading to the Union Depot, and in the early part of the morning kept up a constant clicking with their co-work-

ers at the Union Depot, each party keeping the other posted in relation to the operations in progress. The Executive Committee in East St. Louis kept constantly closeted in a small shed, in which the East St. Louis end of the telegraph terminated, and from a small window issued their orders, which were carried out by subalterns. One of the first orders issued that showed a spirit of determination was to order the cattle yards, large enclosures, about two miles east of the bridge, to close, and allow no stock to leave the yards or to enter them. Feed, however, was allowed to be transferred to the stock, and the strikers at East St. Louis avowed their intention of carrying on the war on humanitarian principles. Mayor Bowman, who was powerless in the hands of so large a force as was marshalled at the Relay Depot, could do nothing with his dozen policemen, and the Sheriff of the county, after having viewed the crowd, concluded they were too many for him, and returned to Belleville, the county-seat of St. Clair county, some fourteen miles distant, where a company of militia, under Captain Andel, had been duly sworn into service on the 4th day of July. The militia were not ordered out at that time by Governor Cullom, of Illinois, as he did not wish to precipitate a repetition of the Pittsburgh troubles. No sooner had the strikers found out their strength in East St. Louis than various orders were given by the committee to request laborers at the different car shops to desist from work. In every case the laborers threw aside their aprons and their tools, and swelled the number of strikers who stood around the Relay Depot, but were not put on duty as railroad guards. The first day closed in East St. Louis with the strikers triumphant and

greatly encouraged. The campaign had been carefully and coolly conducted.

Mayor Bowman had been requested by the East St. Louis Executive Committee, to go across to St. Louis and ascertain what the railroad companies would agree to do. That evening, Monday the 23rd, he made a speech to the strikers, giving the result of his trip across the river.

Mr. Bowman's speech met with applause in spots where the companies were favorable to a compromise, and at the conclusion, the crowd dispersed, somewhat conciliated, and more than ever determined to win in the strike.

Thus far no passenger trains had been stopped. One freight train had attempted to go out on the Chicago and Alton road, but it was quickly mounted, the engineer pulled from his place, and the fire in the engine furnace, extinguished.

Tuesday morning "opened dark o'er head," but the ardor of the strikers had not cooled, but on the contrary increased in intensity. Strikers in large numbers had passed the night as they did every night while they held the situation, in guarding railroad property, twenty million dollars worth of property was thus placed in the hands of these men to guard against tramps, and the ever present mob which associate themselves with a movement of this kind, for the purpose of plunder. To the honor of the strikers, be it said, that though the strike lasted ten days, not a pound of freight was stolen, nor a dollar's worth of property destroyed.

Early on Tuesday, the 25th, two of the members of the Executive Committee committed the first blunder,

the occasion of a small dissension in their ranks. Without having a conference with the other members of the committee, they decided to stop passenger trains. The other three members of the committee were in St. Louis, and had been there all night for the purpose of further planning the campaign. The first train stopped was the Vandalia mail and express. As all trains have to stop at the Relay Depot in East St. Louis before switching on to their respective roads, there was no chance for trains to run the blockade, even though no obstructions had been placed on the tracks. No sooner had the Vandalia train, arrived at the Relay Depot, at 9:30 in the morning, than Jack Benson, the boldest of all the strikers, stepped between the mail coach and the next passenger coach and told the conductor to go on as they did not wish to obstruct the mails. Immediately at least five hundred strikers, together with two or three hundred miners who had joined in the movement, surrounded the train, and with their whooping and cheering succeeded in frightening the conductor, as well as a number of ladies on the train, whose minds were fresh from reading the terrible record of the Pittsburgh riots, and who feared a mob would ensue. Benson was backed by another member of the committee, and conductor Mac Mahon surrendered the situation. At this time, another member of the committee arrived on the spot, and denounced the movement as premature, and that the two strikers had acted without authority. He said that if trains were to be stopped, they should be stopped at the Union Depot, and not subject the passengers to be dumped out that far away from home. After a half hour's delay, the whole train was allowed to proceed.

This little break was the first made in the strike, and resulted in a telegram from the East St. Louis Executive Committee, asking the latter to stop all passenger trains from going out at Union Depot. But the St. Louis committee were not to be governed by this order, and were discreet enough to pay no attention to it, and all trains desiring to depart were allowed to do so. The managers of the Ohio and Mississippi, and the St. Louis and Southeastern—both being in the hands of receivers by the decree of the United States Court, determined only to send mail cars, without passenger coaches.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, a large delegation seized three coal flats and an engine, and in command of the Executive Committee, went across the bridge and forming in line at the Union Depot, marched to the Missouri Pacific Car Works, and stopped the men at that establishment.

That night the East Louis strikers seized several coal flats and went across to St. Louis, where they joined in the procession which marched through that city.

During these two eventful days, the miners of St. Clair county had been holding meetings at Belleville, at which some loud talk and braggadocio had been indulged in by fiery leaders. Resolutions were adopted by the miners, setting forth their sympathies in the work the railroad employes were engaged in, and assuring them that one thousand men were at their command at any time, should they be needed. As before stated, a large number of miners from the coal regions in the vicinity of Belleville repaired to East St. Louis as spectators, but subsequently, as will be seen, left the field as soon as danger approached.

Wednesday and Thursday were uneventful days in that week of the strike at East St. Louis, with the exception of the total stoppage of all trains on Thursday, by the railway companies themselves. At the meeting of the East St. Louis Strikers Executive Committee on Friday morning, four of the five resigned, and their places were filled. Jack Benson alone remained firm. The cause of the resignation was probably the fear of Governor Cullom's appearance on the field, and the results which might follow his order for all the militia of Central and Southern Illinois to repair at once to East St. Louis. Four other bold strikers were at once put in the place of men who resigned, and the new committee at once resolved that, as one of them expressed it, they would "hold the strike, even against the legions of hell."

Saturday morning opened bright and lovely, and while the rays of the sun as it rose, reddened the windows of the tall houses, lining the levee in St. Louis, General Jefferson C. Davis, with four hundred and some odd men of the United States army, eight companies in all, were taken on board the St. Louis Harbor Boat (Elon G. Smith) about 3:30 A. M., at the arsenal, whence they proceeded to the bridge, landing about a quarter of a mile south of the structure. They passed up to the roundhouse, but found no one there; they went to the Relay Depot where was found a large body of "strikers." They were ordered to disperse, which request they complied with.

Company E made three arrests; no one hurt; not a single shot was fired. One of the members of Company D captured a musket. Three freight trains have had their engines fired, and were sent over. The members

of the crew of the *Elon G. Smith* congratulated Captain J. F. Morehead for the manner in which the short campaign was conducted.

The eight companies of General Davis' regulars were stationed all along the lines of the different railroads, with the exception of one company, to guard the Relay Depot. All the passenger trains leaving the Union Depot were allowed to proceed on their way without obstruction from the strikers.

By Sunday morning, ten companies of militia from the interior of the State had arrived in East St. Louis. Over these General Bates was placed, as commanding officer. The militia were distributed at different points, and had little to do except to guard railroad property. The Sabbath passed off quietly, and the backbone of the strike at that point was broken. There was a quieter appearance on Monday morning, July 30th, than at any time during the strike. What had become of the strikers? was a conundrum not easy to be answered. Where, for a week, the strikers had held high carnival, soldiers of the United States and militia men were seen in military squads, some in guard of the Relay Depot, some guarding property, and others camped about in the vicinity with their stacked arms close at hand. There was a military aspect in the view which carried the spectator back to the days of the Confederate war. Colonel James Roe, United States Marshal for the Southern District of Illinois, had quietly arrived on Saturday night, and was left in *charge* by Governor Cullom, of all the militia, and requested by the Governor to decide all matters of dispute, and, in fact, direct the campaign. Colonel Roe, while an aged man in appearance, was young in in-

telleet, and to him much of the credit of an early termination of the strike in East St. Louis is due. He had hardly arrived on the ground when he put detectives, which he had brought with him from Springfield and Chicago, on the track of the leaders conducting the strikes. The detectives were not long in ascertaining the prime movers, and as fast as they were discovered, warrants were sworn out against them. These warrants embraced in their comprehensiveness all the members of the original Executive Committee, together with the added members of the new, nine in all. These warrants were not served immediately after being sworn out except in two cases. These two were served on two of the existing committee, Benson and Gainey, who were immediately arrested by the militia, and placed in the guard-house, which consisted of an empty freight car, and were taken that night to Springfield, where they were subsequently tried, found guilty of contempt of court in disobeying the decree of the court in interfering with trains on the Ohio and Mississippi, and St. Louis and Southeastern Railroads.

By Tuesday, the historic "Bloody Island" of East St. Louis, presented pretty much the same appearance as it did before the strike, the cheerful whistle of the engine was heard on all the tracks, and the busy bustle in making up freight trains, was noticed on every hand. Passenger trains were leaving on time, without the least molestation, either at East St. Louis or any other points on the different roads. Occasionally a lone striker could be seen pensively contemplating the scenes of which he and his companions were but yesterday masters, but most of the strikers were scattered to the winds. Their

leaders had been captured or had deserted, there was nothing to keep the organization together, and it disbanded. The number of arrests made in East St. Louis during the strike, were but twenty-seven, most of whom were "taken in" as suspicious characters. All but the two taken to Springfield, were released on Tuesday. By Thursday of the second week of the strike, the militiamen had left for their homes, and the United States troops alone remained, under charge of Colonel Smith, to guard Government property. These troops remained at East St. Louis for two weeks, when, it having been ascertained that the strikers had all gone to work, and were showing no hostilities, the troops were ordered to the arsenal, in St. Louis. In the conclusion of this chapter, it must be admitted, and cheerfully acknowledged, that the conduct of the strikers was most exemplary. Led on by hot-headed politicians, in the out-start, their leaders as well as the rank and file remained cool and determined till over-powered by the soldiery, and throughout the strike, not only did no destruction to life or property, but even took upon themselves the duty of conserving the peace, and guarding the property which they had assumed temporary charge of. One touch of the fire brand in certain localities, where miles and miles of cars stood, piled as it were together, and there would have been a conflagration, such as would have made the horrors of Pittsburgh pale into insignificance. As it was, there was not a drop of blood shed, nor a particle of property injured, and when they saw that capital as it always has, had crushed them, and scattered their hosts, they went back to their labors, determined to accept the situation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN ST. LOUIS.

The Strike in the West—East St. Louis sends Emissaries Across the Great Bridge—The Workingmen Aroused—The Valley Metropolis Shaken by a Mighty Wave of Excitement—Marching Mobs—The Internationalists—Vox et Præterea Nihil—Black Bummers—Disgraceful Scenes—The Mob—Demand of the Pacific Railroad Employes—Oliver Garrison, General Manager—How he Broke the Back-bone of the Strike—Measures for Protection.

The strikes at Martinsburg and Cumberland, furnished some interesting news to the daily papers, which was read without exciting any particular public interest in Western cities. But the startling character of the events, which quickly succeeded the Martinsburg strikes, in Baltimore, created a profound sensation in the city of St. Louis. The strike, it was seen, had already become formidable. The boldness which characterized the movements of the strikers along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; the persistence and dangerous disposition of the mob in the streets of Baltimore, which, regardless of consequences, attacked armed regiments of men, were sufficient to not only enlist the attention, but to impress upon the people of St. Louis, a sense of insecurity and unrest. The public mind was not at rest, on Saturday evening, August 21st, St. Louis was already affected. But if the incidents in Martinsburg and Baltimore were startling in sensational interest, what must have been the feelings with which the people received intelligence of

the appalling catastrophe at Pittsburgh. The news created not only a sensation, but a profound feeling of alarm. It was evident now that it was not alone the railroadmen who were engaged in the movement, it was equally apparent that the trouble was not confined to a few localities in the East, but that it was no longer a probability that it would move West, perhaps involve every section of the country, and assume proportions threatening to the existence of the Government itself.

It would not be an easy task to describe the intensity of the excitement which pervaded all classes of the citizens of St. Louis, on Sunday, July 22d. In that city, the only organized militia force was a company of colored men. Two companies of volunteer militia had disbanded only a short time before. The police force of the city, so far as numbers go, was always weak to maintain order in so large a city. In the whole State of Missouri, there were not so many as three hundred men in military organizations. A city with almost half a million of inhabitants was dependent on a well organized and efficient, but numerically weak body of police of less than five hundred men. In a population so large, it was but reasonable to suppose that there were a large mass of persons unemployed, poor, dissipated, hopeless ready to seize upon any occasion to improve their really deplorable condition. Then there were the Pariahs, the men who never perform useful labor, and never intend to, the idle, vicious, thieves and tramps, present in all large populations, and whose existence could not be ignored in a time of trouble. Perhaps there were not less than fifteen thousand men idle, not because of an indisposition to labor, but because they could not procure it; then

there were "the always idle," who perhaps number in St. Louis not less than three thousand; then the first note of coming trouble brought to the city a vast horde of peripatetic vagrants, who had been operating in the country. Such were the social elements to be considered in the event of trouble in the city. Here then were, perhaps twenty to twenty-five thousand people, who had no individual interest in the maintenance of law and order. But these were not all the elements. There was another class of persons, perhaps as numerous as any other class of St. Louis, who were removed from immediate want, tradesmen and artisans, with here and there a man of thought and culture, who believed that back of the movement there was a justifying cause; men who believed, with the earnestness of martyr-confessors, that labor under existing conditions did not receive its due reward, but who, nevertheless, were upholders of law and friends of order, yet who were not inclined to be precipitate in assisting to crush workingmen, when they believed in the depths of their hearts that the laborers were contending for that which was their due. Until mobs sought to apply the torch and wield the bloody knife, no help could be expected from them. Then came the capitalists, and their retainers. These beheld the westward course of the mighty wave of popular passion with consternation and profound dread. But, be it said, that there were among the men who control large capital and employ many men, some who could realize the situation, and offer a genuine sympathy, and were prepared to extend a helping hand to those who toiled for them. To these men St. Louis owes a debt of gratitude, for to them, is due, in a large measure, the peaceable solution of the diffi-

culty between labor and capital in St. Louis. Neither the police force nor the citizen-soldiery, so quickly organized, separate nor combined would have been able, with great loss of life, and perhaps immense destruction of property, to have suppressed disorders, had there been a general and determined strike among the workingmen of St. Louis. But there was no such thing as a united and enthusiastic labor strike in the city.

In East St. Louis there was a large force of striking railroad employes, and their propinquity to St. Louis, exercised some influence on a certain class of workingmen. There were discontented laborers in various employments, but the mass of the workingmen of St. Louis were not enthusiastic strikers. And the fact that there were some persons in the city, who employed large numbers of men, who possessed a clear judgment as to the nature of the trouble, and humane feelings as regards the persons who labored, in part explains the freedom from actual collisions which St. Louis enjoyed. No life was lost. If Colonel Thomas A. Scott had been guided by the reason, and actuated by the humanity which marked the course pursued by Mr. Oliver Garrison, manager of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, there is room to believe that the loss of life and destruction of property which attended the strikes there, would not have occurred. Indeed, the conduct of all the railway managers of lines running west from St. Louis, during those days of doubts and fears, was commendable. Hon. Thomas Allen, President of the St. Louis Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad, had not reduced the wages of his employes, and on that account the men had no ground for complaint. Mr. Allen on account of litiga-

tion, had been unable to meet promptly the payment of wages due his men, and as a consequence, that Company was behind with their wages account. This was the only cause for apprehension of a strike among the employes. And the reasons for the delay in payment was generally understood, and the President and his officers had in no small measure the sympathy of every employee on the road.

On the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railway, there was no pretence of a general strike. On the Missouri Pacific Railroad there was dissatisfaction. The wages had been reduced to a figure that the men declared insufficient for the support of themselves and families. When, therefore, the tide had reached St. Louis, and the whole community was filled with apprehension, the employes of the Pacific Railway held a meeting, and appointed a committee to wait upon Mr. Talmage, and demand a restoration of the wages paid before the January reduction. A meeting of the local directors was called, the President of the road, Commodore C. K. Garrison, not being in the city to consider the demand, Mr. Oliver Garrison, the Vice President and General Manager of the Company, considering the situation of the city, and the safety of millions of dollars worth of property of more importance than to play the dictator and tyrant, readily assented to the restoration of wages paid employes to a sum satisfactory to them. This action of Mr. Garrison, who was in a position to dictate the policy of the Company, was of the very highest moment to the whole people of St. Louis. He might have refused; the men might have gone on a strike, to the number of a thousand or so; they might have become exasperated

during a period of unwonted excitement; they might have enlisted thousands of their friends; they might have given at any rate a moral support to the lawless elements, and remained at least passive while the torch was lighted to spread wide around the fires of ruin—all these things might have occurred, had Oliver Garrison proved as false in judgment, and as soulless in disposition as some other railroad managers proved themselves to be during those days of alarm. Mr. Garrison's judgment dictated the policy of concession, and his impulses sanctioned not only the expediency, but the justness of the conclusion, and as for the employes of the road, he manages, when the general turmoil was so great as to force them to quit, they became the guardians of the property of the Company in whose service they were engaged. And the concession made to the employes of the Pacific Railway was of incalculable value to St. Louis.

By the course pursued by Mr. Garrison, some six or eight hundred men—honest, hard-working persons, having a *status* and influence with people of their own class, were withdrawn from active participation in the movement, and became at once the upholders of law and friends of order. In truth, there were no strikes among the railroadmen west of the river in the vicinity of St. Louis. Nor were there strikes among the operatives in a large number of the largest manufacturing establishments in the city. It is true, indeed, that business was suspended, that at one time nearly all the shops, mills, and factories in the city were closed. But this was not because of dissatisfaction among the employes. There was, indeed, a strike among the longshorem^{en} and roustabouts, but that only continued a few hours, for as soon

as the packet companies and levee contractors had acceded to their demands, they resumed work, and there was no more trouble on their account. The employes of a few founderies and shops also struck, but these of themselves were unimportant, and only derived importance from the general situation of the country. In most instances, shops, factories, mills, and founderies were closed by a disreputable rabble, in the ranks of which very few members of the operative and industrial classes were to be found—a rabble composed principally of chronic idlers and vicious characters, that ought to have been suppressed on their first appearance on the streets. Had not the situation of the country been just such as it was, doubtless the idle mob would have been speedily dispersed by the police.

Such was the situation of affairs in St. Louis during the first few days of the so-called reign of the strikers. It would be difficult to find a sufficient reason for the unaccountable panic, we might almost say paralysis of public opinion, which supervened on the first appearance of a formidable strike among the railroad employes at East St. Louis, on any other ground than the contagion of sympathy, and the fear of a repetition of the scenes at Pittsburgh. If the difference in the social, industrial, and moral characteristics of the people of St. Louis and Pittsburgh had been considered, there need not have been any fear of a re-enactment of similar scenes in St. Louis, even with precisely the same provocations to lawlessness.

But fortunately no such provocation existed. In most cases the working people of St. Louis, though none of them were overpaid, were contented with the wages

they received, and in other cases employers, actuated by correct reason, and humane impulses, acceded to the demands of their employes on their first presentation. There was left, then, no class in so bad a condition as to evoke the sympathy of every humane person. In this respect the social conditions at St. Louis were very unlike those which obtained at Pittsburgh. There a multitude of hard working men had had their wages repeatedly reduced, and in addition to the low pay, were compelled to perform services double the amount formerly required to be rendered, thus being oppressed in a degree that extorted the universal sympathy of the whole population in their behalf. It was difficult for men actuated by the ordinary impulses of humanity to assist in crushing men so deeply wronged. And they would not do it. The result was the rabble of Pittsburgh taking advantage of the known sympathy of the people for the railroadmen in their contest, proceeded step by step in lawlessness, growing hour by hour in numbers, became in no very long time a mighty force, wholly uncontrolled by the popular sentiment or civil forces of society. But in St. Louis the case was different. There was at no time danger of such a catastrophe as befell Pittsburgh, being repeated in St. Louis, because in St. Louis were only the ordinary "swell mobs" in lawless rebellion, while in Pittsburgh the majority of the people, until after the revelations made by the tremendous disasters, which blighted that city, were unquestionably in earnest sympathy with the strikers, among whom all the rioters were first classed. When the discovery was made that the sympathy of the people had been wasted on the rabble, and that the strikers were

not benefitted, there was a revulsion, and the people rose, and the mob was speedily suppressed. What Pearson and Brinton, and Hartranft and Hancock could not do by the use of all the paraphernalia of war-like demonstrations, and aroused public sentiment speedily accomplished. That public sentiment did not need an awakening in St. Louis. It was law-abiding all the while, and none were more staunch in their devotion to law and order than the mass of the workingmen. If there had been a general strike of laborers, and they had been actuated by the lawless spirit imputed to them by some journals, they might easily have taken possession of St. Louis, and sacked it at their leisure. But it is a falsehood, it matters not who gives it utterance, to say that the workingmen of St. Louis, as a class, are more lawless than the merchants or the manufacturers, the brokers and bankers as classes in society. But hunger teaches many things,* and the toiler may learn the ways of dishonesty under the guidance of such a teacher, the *Credit Mobilier* class of gentlemen, the corruptionists in official position, the men who appoint other men to official stations with fat salaries annexed, whose chief recommendation is their having handled the funds of corrupters of legislation, needs no such instructor in the ways of the dishonest and the shameless. They have the innate disposition ; with such, dishonesty is intuitive. But in this age, there is a materialism in politics, based on a social organization, wholly selfish in the formulæ of which we find as one of the propositions that "Money makes the man complete. God makes, and

* *Multa docet fames.* Tacitus uses this proverb in describing the mode of life practised by the Britons.

apparel shapes, but money makes the man."† Hence, the chief object must be the acquisition of money; it makes no difference how, only if the law be not so flagrantly violated as to call for an infliction of its penalties. Moral obligations must be disregarded. But when this is accomplished, what then? Some will have, and some will have not, and then will come a time when famishing cannot, and will not listen to reason.§ Then will come the day of retribution. And the men whose hands have been defiled by the goodly Babylonish garments, and the golden wedges of the corrupters will cry unto the mountains to fall upon them, and the rocks to hide them. Some one is wronged when the idle reap the fruits of toil without returning any equivalent. Dishonest men will then not be furnished with the best offices, as has been done in the National and in the State government, not in the long ago, but in the recent past.

Such were some of the minor facts which had a direct bearing on the situation at St. Louis. Men who, though not perhaps to be classed among the workingmen, were yet so deeply imbued with principles of honor, and a sense of justice, that they could not refuse to consider the demands of honest labor for a just compensation. But these men were neither Communists, nor incendiaries, and any assertion that such men were enemies to the individual rights of property, can emanate only from the brain of a knave or a fool. There is, there can be no conflict between labor and capital; there is,

†*El dinero haze al hombre entero.* Garcilaso de Vega, employs the expression in describing the effects of the sudden influx of gold and silver on the conquest of Mexico and Peru, when returning Peasant Conquistadors were hailed as persons of superior quality. It was the prelude to the decay of Spain.

§*El vientre ayuno no oye a ninguno.* "The empty belly hears no one," said by Contreras, of the famishing and mutinous garrison of Pampeluna,.

and must ever be a conflict between honesty and dishonesty. It is an irrepressible conflict.

Little knots of men gathered on sidewalks, on Sunday, and discussed the situation. There was everywhere manifested a sentiment hostile to lawless out-breaks, such as had characterized the mob at Pittsburgh, but the weight of public sympathy, was with the strikers, so far as their alleged grievances were concerned. On Sunday night, an immense mass meeting of railroad men, and their sympathizers, was held in East St. Louis. In that meeting were a large delegation from "The Workingmens Party of the United States," in other words, of the St. Louis Communists, who went over to strengthen the courage of the railroadmen. The strike, as we have already related, was inaugurated in East St. Louis, on Sunday evening. In St. Louis, there was a certain fear, and looking for the wrath to come, but Sunday and Monday came, and passed away without any startling incidents. Business was dull, on account of the interruption of trains, *en-route* East, there was considerable excited discussion on street corners, but otherwise, until in the evening of Monday, there was no demonstrations of sufficient magnitude, as to attract public attention. The Sunday meeting of "The Workingmens Party," at Turner Hall, was a regular weekly meeting, and excited no considerable amount of interest. Their march through the streets to East St. Louis, in the evening, possessed more significance. The number of men in the procession, was a surprise. That was all.

At Carondelet, the seat of immense blast furnaces and rolling mills, employing large numbers of men, the excitement was very great, although, no act of violence,

nor even a strike had as yet been inaugurated. There was considerable discussion in relation to the general disturbance in the country, there was none of the incendiary talk which characterized the rabble in all cities.

On the 23rd of July, a committee, which had been appointed by a meeting of employes of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, waited upon the officers of that road, and demanded the restoration of wages, to the amount received prior to the reduction of January 1st, 1877. The Company proposed to return to the wages paid prior to May 15th of the present year. This was declined by the men, and after further conference, the Company agreed to the terms demanded by the employes and peace was assured between the officials, and the men they employed, and St. Louis, was saved from the annoyance and possible danger which the presence of many hundred exasperated men might have caused.

The employes of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railroad, were generally indisposed to take any part in the strike. They were paid better wages than the employes of most of the roads running out of St. Louis, and did not care to jeopardise their position by inconsiderate haste in action.

The Iron Mountain Railroad employes were not disposed to complain at the wages received. The only ground of complaint was the delay experienced in getting their wages after having earned them. Between the officers and the men, relations were pleasant. Past misfortunes and recent litigation were assigned as the cause for the delay in payment of the wages of employes.

The employes of that road demanded, that the Company

should establish and observe a regular pay day between the first and fifteenth days of each month. The committee appointed by employes of that road had a pleasant conference with Col. W. R. Arthur, Superintendent of the road, and an amicable understanding was arrived at. The men returned to their work, and but for the interruption caused by outside interference, trains would have run regularly on that road during the whole time while the strike continued.

It was a noticeable fact that the strikers remained remarkably sober throughout the troubles. There was no indulgence in debaucheries, and drunkenness among the railroad strikers was almost unknown.

On Monday evening, July 23rd, was held the first of a series of open air meetings, under the auspices of the "Workingmen's Party," otherwise known as the Internationalists, or Communists, which were remarkable on many accounts. No such demonstrations had ever before taken place in the city. The appearance of new organizers, and hitherto unheard orators, as leaders of the masses, created no little sensation among all classes. It may be too, that the vastness of the audience which greeted these preachers of a new political gospel, had anything but a soothing effect on the timid minds of some of the wealthiest, and therefore regarded as leading citizens of St. Louis. The radicalism of the doctrines enunciated, the boldness which characterized the leaders, the number of people who went to hear them, were all circumstances that conspired to create a general feeling of uneasiness among the "propertied classes," as the anti-Communists were termed by the orators of the Workingmen's Party. It was a new revelation to some, that in

the midst of St. Louis, communism had not only found a congenial element, but had grown really strong, while people quietly allowed events to take their course.

The Lucas Market meeting of Monday night was preliminary to others which were to follow. But it gave the public some idea of the grounds of complaint upon which the workingmen stood and contended, and it revealed the existence in the community of a body of men who held the most radical principles of communism, and holding such opinions, were nevertheless able to command the presence of immense audiences of the sturdy workingmen of the city to listen to the rabid radicalism taught by their orators. But the leaders of the Commune in St. Louis made a mistake when they supposed that they had engaged all the thousands who attended their open air meetings as converts to their doctrines, or adherents of their cause. It was probably this mistake which caused that undeniably remarkable, and somewhat mysterious body, celebrated in the history of the strikes in every city as "The Executive Committee," to fulminate those wonderful proclamations, which, in the light of subsequent events, appear so much like grim humor, uttered at the expense of a panic stricken population. The same sort of mistake was made by the citizens and the municipal authorities, and fear fell upon the people and upon their rulers. The speeches of Lofgreen, McCarty, Goodhue, and Currin, were listened to because men felt they had a right to hear what was said, and intelligence enough to believe so much as it might please them to accept as correct. But the daily and nightly meetings, the processions and speeches, and above all, the unparalleled boldness and audacity of tone displayed in those

unique productions, the orders, diplomatic correspondence, and ultimatums of "The Executive Committee," unquestionably had no small influence in creating a feeling of dread in the public mind, and enforcing a belief on the part of the municipal authorities that they were helpless, with the means at command to suppress the disorders.

Tuesday, July 24th, showed a marked increase in the number of the crowds gathered on the streets, and also manifestations of turbulence, which were unpleasant to contemplate. The most important incident of the day in connection with the movements of the strikers, was the visit made by a large delegation of the East St. Louis strikers to the city. They went to the car shops of the Missouri Pacific Railway, and had a conference with the men employed there. The leader of the strikers, Mr. Easton, made a speech, in which he repelled the charge that he and his fellows were thieves, tramps or lawless marauders, but declared that they were honest men who were seeking a means by which their honest labor could be made to yield them a reasonable amount of food to sustain themselves and families. Although the Pacific Railroad Company had acceded to the demands of its employes, and they therefore had no further cause for complaint, nevertheless, in deference to the wishes of the East St. Louis strikers, they concluded to quit work during the existence of the strike, and so the shops were closed. On the same day, the same company of strikers visited the Harrison Wire Works, where a large number of men were employed, and advised the men to quit, with which advice the employes in that establishment readily complied. About eleven o'clock the same morning, twenty-five railroad men from East St. Louis

marched to the Union Depot, and took possession of an engine and freight train belonging to the Missouri Pacific Railroad, ordering the trainmen to stop work. "Why should we do that, inquired the men, the Company has given us our price, and we are perfectly satisfied." The men replied that "that made no difference, as the boys over here must help their brethren elsewhere." They then forced the men to stop work and side-tracked the train.

The officers of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railway Company did not even wait for their trainmen to petition them for an increase of wages. No petition was ever presented. But when the managers learned that the Missouri Pacific Railway Company had agreed to an increase of present wages, they also rescinded the reduction of July 1, and restored to each man the pay he had received prior to that date. This very handsome action on the part of the road management undoubtedly had its effect upon Kansas City and Northern Railway employees. Late in the afternoon the same delegation of strikers that visited the Missouri Pacific yards, called at the Kansas City and Northern depots on Biddle street, and with about a similar result. It is believed that brakemen and firemen of the road did not participate in the strike, and only quit work because compelled to do so by superior numbers. There were only two days in which the road had any trouble in running freight trains.

A strike among the coal haulers and pilers, at the St. Louis Gas-works, was inaugurated on Tuesday. There were about sixty-five men engaged in the movement. Their wages had been reduced from one dollar and

seventy-five cents to one dollar and fifty cents per day by the Receiver, Socrates Newman. The men demanded a return to the old standard of \$1.75 per day, which demand was acceded to and the men resumed work. The pilers, who had never been paid more than \$1.50, also demanded \$1.75 per day. But the demand was refused, and they quit work. There was no strike at the water-works.

The Coopers Union struck for higher wages on Tuesday, and marched through the streets.

During the day a committee appointed by the Lucas Market meeting of Internationals, called at the City Hall to present their wishes to Mayor Overstolz. That functionary delivered a brief address, stating that he fully sympathized with the workingmen in the conditions which led them to the uprising, and that he would do all in his power to afford employment to all laboring men who might call at the City Hall and ask for it. He could not, however, in his official capacity, send such a message when he had no means of knowing what the result might be. As to the United States troops, he had ordered none here, and it was probable that, should any be sent, they would only be for the purpose of protecting Government property. The President would use his own discretion in determining whether or not to send troops for that purpose, and a message of the kind proposed would be of no effect. His honor, however, went on to say that if the petitioners desired, he would, as a private citizen, furnish them the necessaries for mailing the resolutions and request, but could not in his official capacity do anything in that direction.

The committee, consisting of four white men and one colored man, went away apparently satisfied.

At night, on the 24th, the Internationals again held a meeting at Lucas Market, attended by perhaps eight or ten thousand persons. A procession moved through the streets, which numbered from fifteen hundred to two thousand men. It was headed by a fife and drum, and a single torch. The men who marched in the procession were moulders and mechanics. Some of the men carried laths or clubs on their shoulders, but no flag or banner was visible. As the single torch, with its fifteen grim hundred followers, came down street, it presented an awfully suggestive spectacle, the suggestiveness being occasionally strengthened by a tremendous yell, which began at the head, and gained volume as it rolled back to the rear of the line.

The day closed without any startling incident. But preparations had been made for a grander display of the power of the proletariat the next day.

Wednesday, July 25th, 1877, will forever be memorable in the annals of St. Louis, as a day of excitement and alarm only paralleled by those dreadful days of April, 1861, when Camp Jackson was taken, and St. Louis saw her citizens shot down in the streets by the volunteer soldiers. It was a day of intense excitement. The condition of the public mind cannot be easily described. In the early morning, knots of strikers and crowds of the rabble began to collect at various points, and declared their purpose to go on a mission to close up all manufacturing business in the city.

Early in the day the strikers from the various zinc furnaces, and from the Vulcan Iron Works in Carondelet, formed in column, and headed by a fife and drum started on a march to every manufacturing establish-

ment in Carondelet, which was still in operation. This company was very boisterous on the march, and the people were in actual dread for their personal safety. But they marched on, with a firm determination to execute their purpose, and when they had completed their round there was not a single manufactory in operation, nor a single workingman pursuing his ordinary avocation in Carondelet. Beyond this no violence was committed.

In the city, bands of men, many of whom were not unfamiliar with the geological instruction imparted at the city-work-house, and not wholly unacquainted with the interior of the jails of the city, were early moving around visiting shops, factories and mills, and compelling the laborers employed in these places to quit work. In nearly all instances the demand was complied with. A mob largely composed of negroes, marched through the central part of the city, and created no little alarm by the boisterous conduct in which its members indulged. One of the singular freaks of this unsavory company was the fancy they took to close up bakeries. Accordingly a most unpromising crowd of tramps and hard-cases generally, visited an extensive bakery located on the corner of Sixth and Pine streets, forced open the doors, gave their orders to the proprietors, and being hungry proceeded to help themselves to pies and cakes.

The leaders appeared ashamed of the conduct of their followers, and when the proprietors of the bakery asked permission to bake up the dough already kneaded, the request was granted without hesitation. This mob ought to have been promptly dispersed by the police authorities. There are those who believe, and will continue to believe, that there was a superabundance of

caution displayed on the part of the police authorities, in their dealings with such mobs as that which operated through the central part of the city Wednesday afternoon.

At sundown, Wednesday evening, nearly all the manufacturing establishments in the city had been closed, in many instances, at the request of a committee of the Internationalists—closed without protest or resistance. There seemed to be a wonderful want of nerve and determination among the people, and it will not be denied, that the municipal police authorities were evidently unduly impressed that the combinations against lawful authority were exceedingly powerful and dangerous.

The operations of the committees of the International, and the irresponsible mob of roughs who seem to have started out on their own account, and roamed at will, without the least interference, aroused the people to a sense of the situation of the city, and the danger that threatened it on account of the untrammelled action of the mob. Grown bold by indulgence, there was no telling what might not be undertaken by the roughs.

These movements, therefore, served to quicken the energies, and inspire the courage of the friends of law and order.

General A. J. Smith, whose military achievements during the War between the sections were highly honorable to his reputation, and to the cause he served, offered his services to the Mayor, and at once took up his quarters in the Four Courts building. General John S. Marmaduke, a gallant and able commander on the

Confederate side, during the war, also tendered his services, and remained at the Four Courts, during the day, assisting in organizing the companies that had volunteered their services, to protect the city from the lawlessness of the irresponsible mob of roughs, who had shown their capacity for destructiveness in other cities.

There was but one organized company of militia in the city, and that was a colored company. The officers of that company early offered the services of themselves and comrades to the city authorities.

In the evening, Mayor Overstolz issued a call upon merchants and business men to close temporarily, in order that their employes might have an opportunity to enroll for the protection of the property of the city.

The Board of Police Commissioners, now fully aroused, but still doubtful of their ability to arrest the progress of the rioters—although they had not ventured upon an attempt—issued an order to Sheriff John Finn, commanding him to “prepare to summon the *posse comitatus* to the number of five thousand men.” In obedience to this mandate Sheriff Finn issued a proclamation, in which he declared his sympathies with the workingmen, and expressed his convictions that the incendiary deeds which had been committed in other cities, had been done by vagrants and tramps. Nevertheless he called upon them to rise in their honesty and integrity to put down lawlessness.

The city authorities, and “ruling citizens” now thought it necessary to raise fifteen thousand armed men—to put down that terrible “Executive Committee” and its adherents! All over the city were recruiting stations, and men were hastening to enroll in the great

army of protection. The city was in an uproar. Company A National Guards, Captain Pearce in command, had reorganized and were on duty in the city. Other companies had been organized, and before ten o'clock, General A. J. Smith was in command of the nuclei of three or four regiments and battalions. True, they were not such soldiers as could endure a well sustained attack of regulars, but then they were able to assail the terrible armies of "The Executive Committee," with a reasonable prospect of success. Mayor Overstolz had established his headquarters in the Four Courts building, in order, it was said, to be in close communication with the Military Commanders. Governor Phelps had been advised of the precarious condition of affairs, and was announced as on the way from Jefferson City to St. Louis, to take personal supervision of movements. The Mayor and the United States officials in the city, had announced to President Hayes that the situation in St. Louis was critical, and General John Pope had sent General Jeff. C. Davis from Leavenworth, and that officer was *en-route* with six companies of Regulars.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE STORMING OF SCHULER'S HALL.

"To Arms!"—Down with Lawlessness—The Giant of Communism rather Ghostly—Governor Phelps—Mayor Overstolz—General A. J. Smith—The Mighty Executive Committee—More Phantom than Fact—An Important Undertaking—Seven Hundred Armed Men—They March to Storm the Hall of "The Workingmen's Party of the United States"—Schuler's Hall Captured—The Vanquished Commune—A Grand Parade—Prevention Better than Cure.

The conduct of the riotous mobs, which had excited the citizens so greatly on Wednesday, and caused the active military preparations spoken of in a former chapter, was resumed again on the succeeding morning. The condition of affairs at this time in St. Louis appears to have been about this: All the shops and manufactories in the city had been closed at the command of committees sent out by "The Executive Committee," in some instances backed by a howling rabble of vicious idlers; the whole industrial population of the city was idle; the people were in a state of constant dread of impending disaster; capitalists naturally felt, since they were special objects of hatred, that a dreadful sword, such as tormented Damocles, was suspended above their heads; the municipal authorities were endeavoring to strengthen their position; General Smith, surrounded by a multitudinous staff of Colonels, was busy at the Four Courts organizing the citizen soldiery. The Police Commissioners were at military headquarters, issuing their instructions

to the regular police force. Sheriff Finn had a small army of deputies, summoning citizens to serve as a *posse comitatus*; General Jeff. C. Davis, of the United States Army, was *en-route* on a Pacific Railway train, with a body of regular troops, while his Excellency John S. Phelps, Governor of the State of Missouri, having ordered the shipment of a large number of muskets and a quantity of ammunition, together with two pieces of artillery from the State Arsenal, was in person approaching the mob-disturbed metropolis of the State.

On the other side, that formidable "Executive Committee" had grown in boldness, and now even ventured to make demands of the Governor and the Mayor, in a tone that betokened their conviction that they were "men having authority." The street urchins, too, amid the tremendous events of the times, paraded the streets with a newspaper attached to a wand, on which was the terrible legend, "We don't want bread, we want cake and pie, or blood," thus swelling the tumult in this agitated city.

Thursday, July 28th, dawned upon a city, not free, indeed, from "wars wild alarms," but there was a noticeable lull in the movements of the rioters. This fact was noted at the time, and caused no little speculation as to the cause. No very large or threatening demonstration of the strikers, or the rabble, took place. But there was an apparition of darkness, which appeared to all the people. It was not exactly "Death on the Pale Horse," but it was a gigantic colored man, mounted on a yellow horse, who lead a mob, composed largely of negroes, toward the northern part of the city, for the purpose of visiting and closing the shops, mills, and other manufacturing establishments, in that

section of the city. This mob was disposed to indulge in frequent "ugly yells," which was well calculated to strike terror into timid souls. The chief purpose of the Ethiopian on the yellow horse, was, apparently, the general enforcement of a holiday for all laborers, whether they desired it or not. In this mission he and his followers were eminently successful, meeting with no opposition from the laborers themselves, the police or the military.

One of the mobs, which was headed by two sorry specimens of the Caucasian race, visited the various carriage shops on St. Charles street, and requested the workmen to quit. At an agricultural implement shop and warehouse, the proprietor declined to accede to the demand of the mob, and with a loaded revolver kept them back. They finally went away. Such were the character of the men who composed this terrible mob, that required the services of an army to crush.

Meanwhile "The Executive Committee" were busy writing proclamations and diplomatic correspondence with Mayor Overstolz and Governor Phelps. One of the communications addressed to the Governor, is unexampled for pretension and cool impertinence. This mighty "Executive Committee" of "The Workingmen's Party of the United States," otherwise known as the "Internationalists," employs the following language in addressing the Governor :

"We request your speedy co-operation in convening the legislature, and calling for the immediate passage of the eight-hour law, its stringent enforcement and penalty for all violations of same.

"The non-employment of all children under fourteen

years of age in factories, shops or other uses calculated to injure them.

“Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that a prompt compliance with this, our reasonable demand, and living-wages be paid to the railroadmen, will at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last fifteen years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest this tidal wave of revolution. Threats or organized armies will not turn the toilers of this nation from their earnest purpose, but rather serve to inflame the passions of the multitude, and tend to acts of vandalism.”

The same committee addressed a communication to Mayor Overstolz, in which they say:

“We, the authorized representatives of the industrial population of St. Louis, have called upon you to request your co-operation in devising means to procure food for those actually in a destitute condition.

“In order to save a useless waste of your time, it is necessary that we at once say, that all offers of work during this national strike cannot be considered by us as a remedy under the present circumstances, for we are fully determined to hold out until the principles we are contending for are carried.

“It is the earnest desire of every honest toiler in St. Louis to accomplish their purpose in as orderly a way as this dire contingency will allow.

“The contingency of food is already being felt—therefore, to avoid plunder, arson, of violence by persons made desperate by destitution, we are ready to concur with your honor in taking timely measures to supply the im

mediate wants of the foodless, and respectfully offer the following suggestions, namely, if it is not in your power to relieve this distress, we request that a convention of the merchants be called by you, to meet and confer with us as to the best way to procure food to our distressed brothers and their families.

"Each member of all labor organizations will hold themselves individually and collectively responsible to pay for all food procured by their order.

"That we, the unfortunates, toiling citizens, desire to faithfully maintain the majesty of the law, whilst we are contending for our inalienable rights.

"Therefore, we in good faith give you our earnest assurance to assist you in maintaining order and protecting property. Further, in order to avoid riot, we have determined to have no large processions until our organization is so complete as to positively assure the citizens of St. Louis of a perfect maintenance of order, and full protection to life and property."

This is certainly unexampled frankness, so open, indeed, as to have the appearance of a grim joke, which the Executive Committee was perpetrating at the expense of the chief magistrates of the city of St. Louis, and the State of Missouri. It reminds one of the letter addressed by the Congress of the Internationals at Brussels, to the "League of Peace and Liberty," in session at Berne. "There is no longer a reason for the continued existence of your body in the world. Therefore, we desire that you dissolve, and resolve yourselves into a section of the International." So wrote the Congress of Brussels to another society of impracticables.

To make it appear that the Workingmen's Party

meant serious business, this celebrated committee, on the 25th of July, published a notice to the effect that, "Physicians and Surgeons would be recognized during the strike by a white badge four inches wide encircling the left upper arm, bearing a red cross, the bars of which should be one inch wide, and three inches long."

"The Executive Committee," having by its proclamations and diplomatic correspondence, secured a wide spread notoriety, at this time announced that the time for talking had passed, that the time for action had arrived, and that in order to be in complete readiness for any emergency, and to do which required the sort of vigilance which is the price of liberty, it was announced that the "Executive Committee" would remain in session all night at Schuler's Hall. In accordance with this announcement. Schuler's Hall presented a strange scene that night. Grim men, sun-browed and tawny, acted as sentinels. There was none of the tinsel—"the pomp and circumstances of glorious war," to inspire them. Inside the hall "The Executive Committee" held their conclave. They too, were a body of sinewy men, toil worn and grim, clad in the rough garments such as laborers are accustomed to wear. Notwithstanding the high sounding proclamations and loud declarations of hostile intentions, the truth is, that as late as Thursday night they had adopted no plan of action, had collected no arms, had no military organization, and were perfectly incapable of offering resistance, even to a squad of police. Their whole clamor, as was made apparent, was a voice, and nothing more.

But they must have found much quiet enjoyment over the furor which their pronunciamientos had created.

For a time, at least, they must have felt their importance in the city—for a time, indeed, “The Executive Committee,” perhaps with less than a thousand really earnest yet wholly unorganized and unarmed adherents, were little less than a council of kings, who issued orders and they were obeyed, who commanded, and saw their commands executed; this wonderful “Executive Committee,” composed as it was of men who had hitherto been buried in the depths of obscurity, possessing neither social, financial, or political importance in the community, suddenly rose to the surface, and reigned as princes in St. Louis. To their demands the richest yielded, at their request even proprietors of extensive manufactories closed their establishments, and the municipal authority of the city was paralyzed in their presence. It was a strange event in the history of the city, it was an incident in the development of social life, which is worthy of the most careful investigation from the students of social science. New men arise in revolutions whether of a social, commercial, or political character. Grant grew great as he was wafted on the billows of a terrible internecine struggle. Politicians and casuists can never be revolutionists. They belong to the established order of things—they bow only at the shrine of expediency, even though that involves a surrender of honesty. Lawyers are conservatives by force of education and habits of thought; doctors are not in the line of social and political intrigue; and priests and preachers dwell altogether, or, at least, are supposed to dwell in thought altogether in the shadowy realm beyond the tide of time. These cannot be revolutionists. Roussel was out of place in the Commune of 1871. That was a place only for such men as Raoul Ri-

gault, Ferre, Garreau, Fouet, and their kind. Roussel was a scholar, a gentleman, a genius, the others fit for such work as they performed, and such retribution as overtook them. Well known men never remain long at the head of affairs in times of great popular disturbances, because men who have already rendered themselves conspicuous, are restrained by the fear of committing a blunder, and if not by that, then they are kept within a certain definable position by certain precedents and experiences, which wholly unfits them for the position of directors in events which have no precedents. So when the strikes created an uproar all over the land, new men came to the surface, men before unknown. Men like Justus Schwab, and Conroy, and Winter, in New York, and Donahue, at Hornellsville, and Zepp, at Martinsburg, and Robert Ammon, at Pittsburgh, and Clynych, Van Patten and Schilling, at Chicago, and Curtis, Lofgren, Cadell, and Allen, in St. Louis, and Easton and Benton, in East St. Louis, all of whom were unknown to the general public until their names became familiar as household words during the reign of the strikes. Rochefort, the best known, appears not to have been a leader of the Commune. So in New York, Swinton, the cultivated journalist, and intellectually the ablest man among the Internationalists, does not appear to have been so much of a leader as Conroy or Justus Schwab.

But to return to the narrative of events in St. Louis. The operation of the mob on Thursday consisted in marching about in small bodies, from mill to mill, from one factory, foundry, or shop, to the next in their way, and issuing orders, or presenting requests to the proprietors to close up their business places. By Thursday

night, from Bissell's Point to the River des Peres, from Wharf to Chettinham, there was not a single manufacturing establishment, of any importance, that had not been closed.

Meanwhile, Governor John S. Phelps, accompanied by his private secretary, had arrived from Jefferson City, and proposed as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the State, consisting at that time of some two thousand men, hastily recruited from among the citizens of St. Louis, to take general command over the movements of the forces. The Governor, in order to strike terror into the souls of the rioters, proceeded to issue a proclamation, couched in such terms, as in the mind of his excellency, appeared best calculated to impress the disorderly elements with the firmness of his purpose and the solemnity of his resolution, to overcome their unlawful combination.

In that proclamation, his Excellency proceeded to enumerate the evil results accomplished by the rioters, among which were these: They had unlawfully and riotously assembled in the city of St. Louis; they had unlawfully compelled other men to quit and abandon the pursuits by which they supported themselves and families; worse than all else, they had impeded the prosecution of the internal commerce of the country by assembling in force, thereby preventing the transportation of the products of the country, which had a bad effect, inasmuch as it enhanced the cost of support to all persons in a time of financial distress. Further, his Excellency declared that other disturbances and disorders were threatened in St. Louis, and elsewhere in the State. Wherefore he, the Governor of the State, required the

aforesaid bands of men, unlawfully assembled, to disband and return to their usual pursuits and avocations. By way of parenthesis, it may not be inappropriate to remark just here, that perhaps his Excellency was not aware of the fact that some, at least, of the bands unlawfully assembled, were composed largely of men whose "usual pursuits and avocations" were sneak-thieving. It is not to be presumed that the Governor understood this fact. But the Governor of the State of Missouri went further, he required that they should not further molest the good citizens of the State. And he earnestly assured the people of Missouri, and especially of St. Louis, that he was in that city for the purpose of seeing that the laws were faithfully executed and enforced, and that the rights of all should be respected; that order should be maintained; that all assemblages of evil men should be dispersed, and that quiet and tranquility in future should be preserved, and with the aid of the good people of the State, he solemnly declared these pledges should be redeemed so far as in his power as their chief executive, not only for the peace and welfare of the city, but for every part of the commonwealth.

Having accomplished this important work, his Excellency rested from his labors, and awaited the ripening of the harvest of his sowing. It was a brilliant assemblage of notables at the Four Courts that evening.

Mayor Overstolz, on the same day, issued a proclamation couched in reasonable terms, and conciliatory language, requesting a resumption of business, and desiring all laboring men, and all others to abstain, as much as possible, from congregating on the streets.

He prohibited any interference by intimidation or otherwise with the employes or employers of any mill, factory, business, or other establishment. He asserted the right of labor to quit their employment if dissatisfied. He declared that the responsibility for collisions would rest with those who persistently violated the law.

At the Four Courts all was bustle and hurry. General A. J. Smith, with his numerous staff of Colonels; were all kept busy. It was astonishing how much had been accomplished. Order had been brought out of chaos. The recruits had been drilled and disciplined, the veterans had resumed the war-like habit, and were "fighting their battles o'er again." Guards slowly paced to and fro before the stately building. That vicinity, at least, wore the aspect of "grim-visaged war." The veterans who had "dared death in the deadly breach," and met the leaden storm on a hundred battle-fields, had forgotten their ancient proficiency, and had fallen, in knowledge of tactics and skill as warriors, far below the intellectual knights who had rushed to the front to meet the terrible soldiers of "The Executive Committee" whoever and whatever they might be, only a day before.

Friday, July 27th, 1877, dawned much like other days. There were some clouds, and some indication that a summer shower might fall almost any hour. The weather was hot and murky. The streets were comparatively quiet. There was no such crowds as were visible on the preceding Wednesday. Indeed, the city was unusually free from tumult and noises. It seemed as if a sort of Sabbath spirit hovered over the place. Mayor Overstolz had declared that no more public meet-

ings should be held, the Governor had proclaimed his purpose to compel men to return to "their pursuits and avocations," and "The Executive Committee" was meeting at Schuler's Hall. General Smith and his staff were at the Four Courts in readiness to meet any emergency with the forces at his command. His Excellency, Governor John S. Phelps, had supplied arms and ammunition, and St. Louis had contributed the men and the military genius to create an army. The authorities now felt strong, more especially since it was evident that the followers of "The Executive Committee" were growing fewer in numbers. There was a lull on Thursday, and on Friday morning it was apparent that the rioters were still less boisterous. But St. Louis had been shaken by a mighty wind, "created by a disturbance of the electrical equilibrium in consequence of the development of the gaseous body" known as The Executive Committee, and the ponderous men who decide all important matters in St. Louis, had not recovered from the trepidation endured when the storm was at its height. For these and sundry other reasons, the minds of the numerous Pilycamps of which St. Louis can boast, were not easy. That dreadful Executive Committee was still in existence, and in session at Schuler's Hall, surrounded by they knew not how great an army, supplied with they knew not what terrible implements of war, such as mitrailleuses, Gatling guns, Columbiads, torpedoes, Greek fire, shells, and what else they could not form the least conception, but something dreadful they shrewdly suspected it must be.

It was Friday morning when the Board of Police Commissioners, headed by the Vice-President, Colonel

David H. Armstrong, concluded that the police authorities had waited full long to undertake to maintain good order in the streets. There had been meetings appointed by the "Executive Committee" at Carondelet avenue and Barton street, Hyde Park, and at Lucas Market. At Hyde Park, a company gathered, numbering perhaps three hundred or four hundred persons. To this meeting, Captain Burgess, of the Police, was ordered to accept an invitation. Leaving his squad of officers out of sight, the Captain went alone into the meeting, and told them that they could not hold a meeting, and that he had a sufficient force at hand to compel obedience. The crowd thereupon stood not upon the order of their going, but went at once. At Barton street, no collection of the people could be found. At Lucas Market a few people, looking way-worn and wearied, presented themselves, but Sergeant Daly with a small squad of police officers went and dispersed them.

The Committee of Safety determined to attack Schuler's Hall. Generals Smith and Marmaduke protested against such an enterprise. General Marmaduke was very positive in his opposition to the movement.

The result of the conference was a determination to attack. The command of the expeditionary forces was entrusted to General John D. Stevenson, the friend of Mayor Overstolz. As to the forces necessary to accomplish the undertaking, there was some diversity of opinion, but finally it was concluded that the police officers, who were to lead the attack, should be supported by an infantry and cavalry force of about six hundred men, with two pieces of artillery.

The command of the police batallion, by a special

order of Chief McDonough, was conferred on Captain William Lee. The capture of "the violators of law" at Schuler's Hall, was mentioned as a particular service, the battalion under command of Captain Lee was expected to perform. If they encountered any resistance in effecting the arrest of the Schuller's Hall meeting the police were commanded to open fire on the people. The soldiers were there, it appears, to assist in marshaling the prisoners and escorting them to the Four Courts.

Schuler's Hall, the scene of the most important military achievement of the combined forces of the citizen-soldiery and police, is a dingy structure, situated at the intersection of Fifth and Biddle streets, and extending from Fifth street to Broadway, it being near the junction of these two thoroughfares. It is a small hall, and has been frequently used as a meeting place for political clubs of the old tenth ward, now the fourth.

During the forenoon of that eventful day, "The Executive Committee" were in session, what they were doing, what plans they were concocting, has not as yet been revealed. A crowd, not very demonstrative, composed largely of employes of neighboring manufactories which had been closed in consequence of the strikers, lounged about the street corners, and on the door steps in the vicinity. These people seemed to be in total ignorance of the aims and purposes of "The Executive Committee." In the hall, there were not more than a hundred and fifty or two hundred persons at one time during the day, and these seemed to be little better informed in regard to what was being developed in the room occupied by the Executive Committee, than the crowd which loitered on the outside. They all

appeared to be workmen, and did not appear very war-like. They had no arms, and "The Executive Committee" was provokingly slow in furnishing them with death dealing instruments.

Meanwhile, all was in commotion at the Four Courts. The notes of busy preparation plainly heard. There was hurry, bustle and buzzing, such as might be expected from a gallant army setting forth on a perilous expedition, with thoughts only of victory to animate them to the performance of heroic deeds. The companies were marshaled, the officers were at their respective posts; the artillery was hauled out, the police battalion was mustered; General John D. Stevenson mounted his war-steed, Mayor Overstolz, Colonel Armstrong, and Chief of Police McDonough, assumed their appropriate places, and on the afternoon of Friday, July 27th, 1877, the combined forces of the police and citizens, soldiery, marched out from the Four Courts to storm and capture the headquarters of "The Executive Committee," a mile away, at Fifth and Biddle streets. The combined forces numbered about seven hundred men of all arms. A little before three o'clock the head of the column marched up Fifth street to the vicinity of Schuler's Hall.

How the attack was made, we shall proceed to relate. The scene presented at this time, was a striking and a novel one. About Wash street, two blocks below the hall, the police cavalry, led by Captain Fox and Sergeant Floreich, came northward at a moderate gait, occupying nearly the full width of the street. Just behind them the two files of foot police, led by Captain Lee, mounted, and by Captain Huebler and Sergeants Boyd and Pow-

ell, afoot, occupied the middle of the street, moving with quick step, their bayoneted muskets at a "carry arms." The cannon showed grimly near the middle of the force. The rear of this company was brought up by Mayor Overstolz and three citizens, who marched well, regardless of mud.

A half block behind these, the soldiery, with their forest of bayonets, advanced with regular, measured tread, presenting a very pretty column.

The formidable procession was flanked on either side by an immense crowd of citizens, who overflowed the sidewalks, and pushed and jostled in most tumultuous fashion in their eagerness to get forward and witness the trouble which they thought was about to occur.

In front of the building was a small crowd, but a little to the north, occupying Biddle street, and well up along the market-house on Fifth street an awe-struck multitude stood gazing southward. It was composed largely of the lower classes, but there were also many Broadway and Fifth street merchants in it. The crowd was wonderfully still, evidently expecting that some terrible event was about to happen.

The troops marched with little noise, and there was in fact, nothing to indicate to the people on the third floor that anything was about to happen.

When within about fifty yards of the hall, the cavalrymen put spurs to their horses and moved forward at a brisk trot, charging directly for the crowd which blocked the street. They did not stop at the hall, but the crowd opened and retreated before them, and they kept on their course till they passed the north line of Biddle street, when they stopped. They were cheered by some,

and cursed and mocked by others, but paid no attention to it. Presently the crowd began to show an unruly spirit, and to press forward beyond the limits. Then the cavalry made things lively beyond description. They dashed hither and thither regardless of sidewalks and gutters, and drove the crowd before them without distinction.

Every charge occasioned a loud yell, and a collision sometimes seemed imminent. This sudden uproar, after such a remarkable quiet, carried consternation to those who remained on the upper floors in fancied security, and there was a panic which words cannot picture. Some jumped from the third-story porch on the south side of the building upon the roof of the adjoining building, and running over a couple of roofs, made a descent. Many shinned down the pillars of the porches. A score of others got upon the second floor balcony at the east side of the building, and letting themselves down their full length, dropped upon the sidewalk, all in a heap. Several of these jumpers suffered serious sprains. A numbers of others, afraid to drop or jump, stood trembling on the balcony until the cavalry charged around on that side to corral the building. The officers pointed their revolvers at those who stood up there, and called on them to surrender and come down, which they did, amid the wildest confusion.

The main part of the work of arrest devolved upon the police who were afoot. When they reached the entrance to the hall stairway, Captain Lee, in a low tone, ordered a halt, and, leaping from his horse, he drew his sword and led the way up stairs. Crptain Huebler and a number of men took possession of the second floor,

and Captain Lee and Detective Hugh O'Neil, who was rigged out as one of the workingmen, went on up stairs and did the work in the main hall without other assistance.

It was an easily accomplished task. Captain Lee, sword in hand, burst into the room and roared out, "Let every man in this room consider himself my prisoner." There were a few groans, and some appeals for leniency, as the wretches whose escape had been cut off, heard this order and hauled in their heads.

The Captain looked savage, and the reporter fell right into line at the head of the crowd, not knowing but what he, too, would get a blistering slap with the steel, or worse. In a moment, the crowd numbering between twenty and thirty, formed as orderly a double file as any body could desire, and the next moment came the order, "forward, march."

Hughey O'Neil and Sargeant Fox marshaled the miserable crew, and they marched down stairs as though going down to death.

The exploit was accomplished, the headquarters of "The Executive Committee" had been invaded—captured, without the loss of a single man. The forces of the Communists were placed in line as prisoners, together with a number of unfortunate idlers, who had been captured on the streets in the neighborhood. It was not a large force. Seventy-three prisoners in all. Marshaling their prisoners, the seven hundred armed men who had marched up Fifth street to Schuler's Hall, marched up to Eleventh street, then South to the Four Courts again. Twenty-four of the seventy-three prisoners were found to be employes of various manufacturing estab-

lishments in the neighborhood, which were temporarily closed—men who had not struck, and who had taken no part in the proceedings of the Internationalists. These were released. There were forty-nine left, but it was soon discovered that a number of these were mechanics and artisans, who were at the hall to gratify their curiosity, and these were in no long time released. In fact, it soon became a painfully apparent fact that the fruits of victory were no better than apples of Sodom in the grasp of the victors.

This was the last formidable appearance of that remarkable "Executive Committee" which had kept St. Louis in a fever of excitement for several days.

The next day was quiet, the citizen-soldierly were still on duty, but there were no foes to face. The great strike drew to a close. The page of history was made up. The merchants brigade, General John B. Gray's command, the citizens forces, General Smith and his staff of Colonels having well performed their part, were about to lay aside the implements of war. The streets were quiet. The war had closed. Monday the long lines of volunteers presented themselves as the defenders of the city, received the applause of fair women and brave men—then all was over.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MINOR INCIDENTS OF THE STRIKES IN MISSOURI.

Interest in the Strikes—Kansas City—The Sedalia Trainmen—The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway—Hannibal and St. Joe—"Strike Smashers"—The General Tumult—Growing Quiet—The Decline—The End—Peace.

Within the limits of the great State of Missouri there are more than three thousand miles of railways. The companies operating these lines employ in the aggregate, more than fifteen thousand men. It was scarcely to be expected that all these would remain quiet while the whole country suffered from the throes of a social disturbance, unparalleled in the annals of our country's history. But there were conditions which did exist elsewhere, which had no small influence in determining the position which the railroadmen, as well as other workingmen in the State. The companies operating the Missouri, Pacific, St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, the St. Louis and San Francisco, and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern lines, representing together more than two thousand miles of railway lines, by a consummately wise policy, very effectually cured the "striking disease" in its incipient stages.

In St. Louis, Mayor Overstolz was pursuing a conciliatory course with the workingmen, and evinced no disposition to precipitate a collision. There were not wanting among his advisers, men who were thirsting for

a cheap notoriety, as heroes in a conflict, between the workingmen and the representatives of the constituted authorities. Happily for the city and for the State, the Mayor thought differently, and acted in a manner calculated to save the lives and protect the property of all classes. It must be stated, however, that the Mayor was not certain that he possessed the requisite force to suppress disorders, in case even a slight collision should take place in St. Louis, hence, it was that he actually sought the aid of the regular forces of the United States, not to suppress, but to prevent outbreaks. He believed that a strong force present in the city would prevent the necessity for an exercise of its repressive power.

In many places in the State, the authorities feared outbreaks. This was particularly true of the municipal officers of cities like Kansas City, Sedalia, Moberly, Hannibal, and St. Joseph. The Governor of Missouri was peculiarly devoted to precautionary measures. The State capital, Jefferson City, is a small place, unimportant as a railway center, and inhabited by comparatively few persons who depend upon employment on railways for a livelihood. Nevertheless, his Excellency, John S. Phelps, as early as Monday the 23d of July, directed Assistant-General E. Y. Mitchell to provide a guard for the State Armory. The purpose was to protect State arms in case the few railroads in that place, or the Labor Union, or any other persons should engage in a riot, and endeavor to seize them. But the small population of Jefferson City did not afford a sufficient number of such evil-minded persons to organize a disturbance, and the Governor had the satisfaction of knowing that he had, at any rate, provided for an emergency that

might have arisen, provided there had been any one disposed to engage in precipitating a collision. However, there were no such persons there, at least none who cared to let their views be known. The Governor rested in peace. The Penitentiary guards received instructions to be on the alert, and prepared to receive the rioters, should they appear. There had been no evidence of any disposition to engage in strikes, or otherwise disturb the social order of the city, and during the continuance of the troubles in other sections of the country, Jefferson City remained perfectly quiet.

The workingmen of Springfield, Missouri, a city in which extensive shops of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway are located, called a meeting on the evening of July 23d, at North Springfield. The call created no little apprehension among the good people of the city. But the meeting was held, a number of speeches were made, all couched in language at once admonitory and pacific. No harm came of it, and the class of alarmists and simpletons who showed their fears, felt heartily ashamed of their folly.

At St. Joseph, a terminal point for several lines of railway, there were a few days of great uneasiness among the people on account of the strikes engaged in by the employes of some of the railroads. The employes of the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, and the Missouri Valley Railroads, were on a strike. There was a freight blockade, and even passenger trains were detained on some of the lines. The strikes began on the 24th, and continued until the 30th of July, when freight trains were moved as usual. During its continuance there were times of no little ex-

citement, but it is but just to say, that there was not a single act of violence committed by the strikers while railway business was suspended.

At Kansas City, meetings of the employes of various lines of railways having their terminus at that city, were held on the 24th, and at noon all ceased to work. A crowd of some three hundred strikers took possession of the Union Depot, and held it. No freight trains were allowed to depart. During the afternoon of the same day, a band of some two hundred and fifty men were organized, and proceeded to go in procession to all the railroad shops, packing houses, founderies, elevators, and other places where large numbers of men were employed, and invited them to quit work and join in the general strike. In nearly every instance their invitation was accepted, and labor was generally discontinued in Kansas City.

Meantime the excitement in the city had become very great. A call was issued for the assembling of a mass meeting of citizens to take action concerning the threatened disturbances. At that meeting a Committee of Safety was appointed, and other measures looking to the preservation of the public peace and the protection of property. On the same evening the strikers met in council, and resolved that no more freight trains should be moved—at least for the time being.

The City Council met in secret session and passed a resolution providing for the appointment of a large number of special policemen, to preserve the peace and protect property. The next morning July 25th, the special force was assigned to duty.

All freight trains on all roads were stopped on the

25th. The strikers made their headquarters at the Union Depot. During four days the strikers held undisputed sway, and would not permit the movement of freight. On the 29th of July a consultation was held between the Executive Committee of the strikers, and an Arbitration Committee under the sanction of the railroad corporations, which resulted in the satisfactory adjustment of the pending disagreement between the railroad companies and their employes. During the afternoon of the same day the strikers held a mass-meeting, before which the members of the Executive Committee laid a report of the action they had taken looking toward a compromise. The result was the passage of conciliatory resolutions declaring the desire of the strikers to see business resumed on all the railroads throughout the land, expressing confidence in the justice and fair mindedness of the railroad managers of that section, and appointing a committee to notify the Superintendents of all the railroad lines that they were ready to resume work the next day. Thus the strike closed at Kansas City. During those four days there were some exciting scenes, but not a single act of violence was committed, neither was the public peace disturbed, nor the rights of property invaded.

At Hannibal, the point where the Hannibal and St. Joseph railway terminates on the western bank of the Mississippi, as well as the northern terminus of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, and other lines, much apprehension existed among the people generally. There were a large number of railroad employes in the city, and several extensive manufacturing establishments; particularly foundries and car shops, served to awaken

uneasy feelings among all classes of citizens. The employes of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway struck on the 24th, and all business was suspended in the transportation of freight over that road until the 29th. The employes of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railway had joined in the strike as early as the 23rd, and the employes of the car shops were also among the strikers. On the 25th the strikers required employes in large establishments who had not struck, to join them. All the large shops, founderies, mills and other manufacturies of Hannibal were closed on the 25th, and the business of the city was completely embargoed. On the 29th most of the railway employes who had been engaged in the strike resumed their places, the trains were moving as usual, the shops had reopened, the mills were at work, the founderies were in full blast, and what at one time threatened a dangerous disturbance of the social order, had passed without a single act of violence. It is true that at times there were exciting scenes, and timid persons may have been alarmed, but there was little cause for it. Hannibal had become quiet on the 30th.

At Moberly there was little trouble during the continuance. The wise policy adopted by the managers of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railway prevented any strike at that time, and the employes of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road were not numerous enough to create a great deal of trouble. The people were compelled to pass several anxious days, but their fears, happily, were never realized.

Sedalia, a city of some ten thousand inhabitants, is located at the junction of the Missouri Pacific and Lexington branch, and these roads are here intersected by

the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway. It is a "railroad town," the population being largely composed of employes of the various divisions of roads which have headquarters at this place. No doubt the sympathies of the people were with the strikers. It was apprehended that Sedalia would become the Hornellsville of Missouri. But the railroadmen of Sedalia behaved admirably. Those on a strike were not ruffians, and aside from causing some days of anxiety to timid people, Sedalia escaped from any serious consequences on account of the strikes. Not an act of violence was committed. There was no trouble at Booneville. So ended the strike in Missouri.

CHAPTER XXX.

SAN FRANCISCO'S PROBLEM.

The Workingmen's Sympathies for Strikers—A Mass Meeting—The Hoodlums on the Alert—Concocting Mischief—Race Riots—Incendiarism—Chinese Wash Houses—The Hoodlum's Aversion—Destructive Conflagrations—A Vigilance Committee—Chasing the Roughs—A Bloody Scene—The Aroused Citizens Crush the Mob Spirit—Peace Restored.

The wave of unrest that had its origin in the eastern States swept westward, involving two third of the great cities and large towns in its disastrous course, and finally reaching the Pacific shore, manifested itself with terrible effect in the metropolis of California. Properly speaking, the difficulty in San Francisco was not a strike. But the uprising among the workingmen was made an occasion by the roughs, the hoodlum' element in San Francisco, to vent their hatred, and indulge in violent attacks on the Mongolian residents of the Pacific states. It was but natural that the workingmen of the Far West, advised as they were, of the events occurring in the East, should entertain a profound sympathy for their eastern brethren on a strike against low wages; it was but reasonable that they should come together to give expression to that sentiment, and they did come together. Better perhaps, that they had not done so, but the errors of the past are irrevocable. Taking advantage of the somewhat perturbed condition

of the society, on account of the exciting news from the East, the hoodlums of San Francisco, inaugurated a series of outrages for which the workingmen were in no way responsible.

During the afternoon of July 24th, 1877, hand-bills were industriously circulated throughout San Francisco, setting forth that the workingmen and women of the city would meet in mass-meeting at half past seven o'clock, near the new City Hall, to take action in relation to the strikes in the east.

On account of the excitement which had been occasioned by the news from Pittsburgh, an immense crowd was attracted to the spot., a majority of whom were actuated by mere curiosity, while the hoodlum element went there for what might turn up. By seven o'clock Market street was alive with men going west, and half an hour later both sides of the thoroughfare were black with people. The large, irregular-shaped lot in front of the new City Hall was the place chosen for the meeting, and at eight o'clock it was almost impossible to find a spare foot of ground. A platform had been erected in the center of the lot, and a brass band attempted to play "The Star Spangled Banner" as an overture to the commencement of the meeting.

A gasoline lamp, such as are used by street corner vendors of corn plaster, and superior blacking, was lit by a tall man with a prominent nose, who afterwards called the meeting to order, and nominated James F. D'Arcy for chairman of the meeting. Mr. D'Arcy threw a damper on the meeting by stating that it was no anti-Coolie meeting, and that they were not there for the purpose of discussing the Chinese question.

He said that they had met not for the purpose of encouraging riot and incendiarism, but to give their brother workmen in the East their moral support. He then took up the eight-hour question, but did not speak long, as the crowd were impatient for novelty, and had enough of eight-hour oratory.

"Talk about the Chinamen;" "Give us the Coolie business," and other shouts from all over the ground put an end to his discourse. The crowd was a good-natured one, but its component parts wanted fun, and so another meeting was organized on the eastern portion of the lot, and the crowd which seceded from the original meeting, amused themselves by extinguishing the speakers whenever they attempted anything approaching spread-eagle oratory.

Dr. Swain was introduced amidst a constant fire of small talk from the gamins. He quoted from the ancient Greek, spouted phrases from Cicero and Horace, and attacked the Federal Government for not providing for an army of three millions of unemployed workingmen. The crowd could not stand him very long, and he gave way.

A lady was introduced as Mrs. Kendrick. Mrs. Kendrick said that if the workingmen had their wages reduced, the hardships fell on their wives and children as much as on themselves, and they should not, therefore, be selfish in their indignation, but divide a little of it with the women. Her auditors listened good naturedly for fifteen minutes, but as there appeared to be no chance for recess, she was advised to "hire a hall," and the chairman was asked to "fire her out."

Hon. John Days, from Nevada, was introduced as

an "ex-organizer of 'The Workingmen's League.'" Mr. Days alluded briefly to the soulless corporations, the fat and bloated railroad magnates, and the necessity for checking their rapacity.

A gang of some two hundred young hoodlums, who had been collecting on the McAlister side of the lot, at this juncture rushed pell-mell up Leavenworth street, hooting and yelling in a fearful manner. At least eight thousand people were present at the meeting, and it was an orderly one for so large a crowd.

About eleven o'clock in the evening a fire broke out at the Pacific Mail Dock, San Francisco, and raged furiously until after midnight, burning immense quantities of lumber, and a great deal of similar property, owned by various parties. The fire was of incendiary origin, the evident intention being to involve the Company's property in its spread. The citizen vigilantes marched to the scene of the conflagration, and closed all the streets commanding the approaches.

On the arrival of the first detachment of citizens, a crowd numbering about ten thousand gathered. The various lumber and coal-yards in which the fire was raging, were surrounded on the land side by a fence running near the bottom of a steep hill, leading up to St. Mary's hospital. On the top of this hill a crowd had assembled. While a portion of them attempted to set fire to the fence, the police and citizens attempted to drive them off, and were met by a shower of stones from the hill. The hill was then stormed in the face of a hot fusilade of stones, and the mob began firing pistols. The force answered with a volley, and getting to close quarters, used their clubs with telling effect. In the

charge a young man, the note teller in the London and San Francisco bank, fell, fatally wounded. Another citizen was shot dead, and a great many were wounded more or less seriously, by stones and pistol-shots. It was impossible to ascertain the loss of the rioters. Several were reported killed and wounded, but nothing could be definitely known. At least one hundred shots were fired into the mob. About a dozen were found lying in the drug stores near the scene of action, more or less seriously injured. This charge broke the courage of the mob, many of whom were captured, and a long chain being stretched across the front of the mail dock, they were marched to it for safe keeping. The mob at no time obtained access to the mail dock, which was closed, strongly guarded, and several cannon planted, commanding the entrance. The ships at the wharves were hurriedly towed to places of safety. The firemen, after the first outbreak, were well protected, and worked with but slight hinderance. The driver of hose cart No. 1 was shot dead by the mob, but there were no other casualties among the members of the force.

The anti-Coolie meeting, which had been called, met early in the evening, near Corry Hill. Threats were openly made to clean out Chinatown, and attack the residents and railroad authorities, and from what could be learned, it would appear that Friday night had been fixed upon for the demonstration in that direction. During the evening the following slips, marked "Warning," were distributed :

"PRO BONO PUBLICO."

The attention of the "Thousand and One" will be drawn to any and all premises where Chinese are em-

ployed or allowed. Property owners, insurance companies and employers, make a note of this while there is time, and before the avengers and oppressed laborer thunder at your doors.

(Signed) "Thousand and One."

Quiet was restored in the city shortly after mid-night. Four hundred stand of arms and six thousand revolvers were received from the United States Arsenal.

According to the announcements previously made, the city was treated to a display of lawlessness and hoodlumism such as had never before been witnessed. A band of two or three hundred young men, crazed with excitement and liquor, ruled that portion of the city in which they paraded, for three hours, and it was not until the entire force of regular and special police and a hundred citizens sworn as officers, together with the Sheriff and his Deputies were called upon, that the crowd was broken and the riot stopped. The hoodlum element, it has been claimed, was drawn together by the workingmen's mass-meeting, and it was at the new City Hall where the leaders got their followers together, and laid their plans for the criminal acts which were committed by them sometime later.

On the south-west corner of Leavenworth and Geary streets, was a two-story frame building with a basement. The basement was occupied as a Chinese wash-house, and the upper part as a fruit store and dwelling. The vicious gang rushed into the wash-house, beat the Chinese inmates who had not effected a retreat, scattered the clothing upon the floor, smashed the windows, battered down the doors, and broke the oil lamps against the walls. A portion

of the crowd made a raid on the fruit stand, and threw the contents into the street. The burning oil set the building on fire, and in a few minutes the house was in a blaze. An alarm of fire was turned on, and the Department came speedily upon the ground. The inmates of the upper part of the building were rescued with great trouble, and it was only by the greatest exertions that a lady who had retired for the night, was saved from becoming a victim to the flames. Another piece of deviltry practiced, was in cutting the hose leading from the engines. This was done in several places, scarcely one half of the water, in some instances passing through the severed hose.

While the firemen were exerting themselves to subdue the flames, the gang started down Geary street, frightening women and children with their wild cries, shoving men off the sidewalks, and indulging in the wildest species of Indian yells. On the south side of Geary street, above Powell, was a Chinese wash-house, with large glass windows and doors. In five minutes after these wretches rushed into the place the establishment was completely gutted; every pane of glass was broken, the doors wrenched from their hinges; the clothing which had just been washed, trampled under foot, and every article of every description broken to pieces. The inmates, apprised of their danger, had already fled and thus saved themselves. There can be no reasonable doubt that they would have been murdered had they remained. Another wash-house on Post street, near Taylor, was similarly treated, and one of the proprietors was beaten badly on the street.

An attack was made on Gibson Chinese Mission, 916 Washington street, and stones were hurled at the windows.

A Chinese wash-house on Pacific street, near Mason, was attacked; another on Geary street, near Jones; and numerous others in various parts of the city were completely demolished by the mob of hoodlums. The wash-house at 506 Post street was assailed, and the adjoining plumber's store at 508, owned by Kearny Bros., was broken into, the mob arming themselves with brass implements in the windows and on the shelves.

Some Chinamen, fleeing from an attack on their premises, and closely pursued by a mob, took refuge in the grocery store at the northeast corner of Turk and Leavenworth streets, and the crowd following, took possession of the store, and turned their attention from the Chinese to the liquors, and plundered the place before they left it. The grocery belonged to Mr. Dolan.

Local Officer Page had a novel adventure on Mark street. He arrested a turbulent fellow in the outskirts of the crowd at the new City Hall, and started to take him in, when a gang surrounded him and stole his pistol from his overcoat pocket, and forced his prisoner away. The crowd followed down Sixth street, and Page was assisted out of his scrape by the arrival of detectives Jones and Coffey, who, by a little strategy, got the crowd off on a wrong scent at Market and Eddy streets.

It is estimated that the damage to Chinese wash-houses, and other property, will amount to twenty thousand dollars.

A policeman was struck on the head with a stone thrown from a crowd on Kearny street.

The sidewalk in front of several wash-houses in the North Beach district looked like a bed of cobble stones.

In every instance the police acted with the utmost promptness and resolution, and were posted in every part of the town, with a strong reserve at the City Hall, and their presence in good force had a wholesome effect in checking the perverse elements in the crowds. The entire department was on duty under Chief Ellis, assisted by Captains Lee, Stone, Short, Douglass, Baker, and a number of Sergeants. It was observable that the hoodlums, from fifteen to twenty, were conspicuous in violent demonstrations. About half-past eleven a procession of about two hundred passed down Post street from Stockton, and thence by Geary to Market, and dispersed in the direction of Tar Flat. Their cry was, "We aint no slaves, are we Bill?"

No serious casualties to Chinamen were reported. They prudently kept out of the way.

After the rioters had become tired of gutting wash-houses they started for Chinatown, continually yelling. Long before the police authorities had been notified of what was going on, and a number of special officers were sworn in to assist the regulars. Captains Douglass and Short, with twenty-eight men, marched to the corner of California and Dupont streets, while Sergeant Harmon, with twenty-four men, took post at the corner of California and Stockton streets. The rioters, their numbers now swelled into thousands by all classes of people, the majority of whom went along with them out of mere curiosity, entered Dupont street from Sutter, and rushed along toward Chinatown. A wash-house was encountered on the east side of the street, north of Bush, and it quickly presented the appearance of an exploded powder mill.

The advance, composed entirely of the worst element, was stopped at California street by Captain Douglass and his *posse*. An order to charge up the hill was given, and in a brief time the police force was among the rioters making a vigorous application of their clubs. The assault was successful, and the hoodlums fled in all directions. The dispersion was complete for the night.

Quiet was restored on the 26th, but the situation was threatening. The only man killed in the riot of the 25th, was Herman Gudewell, teller in the London and San Francisco Bank. Several others were dangerously wounded on both sides.

During the following day, there was a stream of citizens pouring into the rooms of the Committee of Safety, and the available force at the disposal of the Committee, was doubled or tripled.

An appeal was addressed by William T. Coleman, President of the Committee, to the workingmen, calling upon them to aid in the suppression of the riot. Invitations were distributed by the Committee among all good citizens, inviting them to attend the meeting of the Committee at Horticultural Hall, in the evening of the 26th.

Resolutions were drawn up by the Committee of Ten, of the People's Reform and Anti-Chinese Party, and introduced at the convention which met at Crusader's Hall, repudiating any connection with the rioters, and pledging the convention to assist the authorities in the preservation of order.

The Committee of Safety and municipal authorities, conferred with Admiral Murray on the 26th, and the result was the *Pensacola* was anchored in the stream,

opposite the Pacific Mail dock, and the Lackawanna took up a position at the foot of Market street. Admiral Murray stated that he was prepared to land a force of marines and blue jackets with Gatling guns, in case of a riot. The position of the Pensacola enabled her to sweep away any mob which would gather at the mail dock.

Ex-soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies met in the afternoon, in the Horticultural Hall, to effect an organization of companies and regiments, and arms and ammunition were received.

Mayor Bryant, of San Francisco, issued a proclamation in which he said :

That lawless and atrocious acts of the vicious and criminal classes in the community had been committed which compelled him for the last time, to warn all good citizens against appearing on the street in large numbers or groups. The object of this caution was, that the innocent might not suffer, and that the street and public places might be left free and unobstructed for the operations of the police, military, and the Committee of Safety, who, he was assured, would see that order was maintained at all hazards.

No further leniency was shown the mob, members of the Committee of Safety were provided with the most approved weapons, and general orders were given to shoot down any person caught in the act of demolishing property, or interfering to prevent the extinguishment of fires. The resistance offered by the hoodlums the preceding night, was the reason for the adoption of harsher measures of punishment.

A special meeting of the Board of Police Commis-

sioners was held in the afternoon, at which it was determined to instruct members of the police force that it was their duty to shoot into any crowd which attacked them with stones or weapons of any kind. They were instructed to take no risks whatever, but on the first attack upon them, they were privileged to use their pistols. A more careful estimate of the loss by the fire on the night of the 25th, showed losses amounting to about eighty thousand dollars.

The casualties by Wednesday night's riot, were as follows: Herman Gudewell, Assistant note-teller of the London and San Francisco Bank, shot while in charge of the vigilants, of which he was a member, died soon after; Officers Wilson, Smith and Morehouse, wounded by stones, not dangerously; Officers Parsons and Pomroy, pistol shots in head and leg, respectively, not serious; J. K. Conolly, driver of No. 1 hose-cart, shot in the leg by a rioter; Samuel Scronse, on a cart with Conolly, was shot by the mob, fireman of No. 3 hose, struck by a stone in the face, and severely hurt; Joseph Wentworth, fatally injured and leg broken; Henry Washer, killed by a hose-cart on Pacific street, near Stockton; Thomas Baxter, a boiler maker, shot in the chest, near the mail dock, and subsequently died; James Miller, shot in the head while leading in the riot; two hoodlums, Railey and Thompson, shot on Rincon Hill, both of whom afterwards died; a rioter named Carr, dangerously wounded; Hayes, another of the mob, shot in the knee. A great number of the Committee and police were more or less hurt by stones thrown, and many of the rioters were severely clubbed, and it is believed quite a number were wounded by

pistol shots, whose names and extent of injuries were not ascertained.

The complete preparations made by the authorities had a very wholesome effect on the hoodlum element.

It had been anticipated that some disturbance might arise previous to the sailing of the steamer *Belgie*, for Hong Kong, on the 27th of July. But this was averted, for while the Chinese passengers were collecting at the Mail Dock, a heavy guard was in attendance at the dock, and heavy squads patrolled streets leading to the locality as far as Market street. No demonstration was made. About sixty thousand dollars were subscribed to the fund of the Committee of Safety. Enlistments were continued for some days. The Committee was thoroughly organized, and each ward was guarded by its own detachment, while a force was held in reserve at the headquarters, and all members could be assembled at the tap of the bell, in case of necessity. A number of rioters were convicted at the Police Court, and sentenced to the full extent of the law. Notices were posted all over the town, offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the arrest and conviction of any person setting fire to property, and two hundred dollars for that of any one cutting the posts of the fire department. A number of threatening notices were received by manufacturers in San Francisco and in Oakland city.

No disturbance, however, took place. The evident determination of all classes of the citizens of San Francisco to put down the vicious elements, was sufficient to deter even the hoodlums from commission of overt acts against the law and the good order of society. San Francisco was thus saved from disgrace, and loss of prop-

erty and lives. To this fortunate conclusion, of what at one time appeared a formidable danger, was largely due to the fidelity of the masses of workingmen. There was a very quiet season after the energetic exhibition of force by the authorities and citizens.

N. P. Brock, who made an incendiary speech at the anti-Coolie meeting of Wednesday evening, July 25th, was arrested on the evening of the 29th.

The steamer City of Tokio, from Hong Kong *via* Yokohama, with a large Chinese passenger list, arrived at San Francisco the morning of the 28th. The landing took place in the afternoon. A strong force of police and the Safety Committee received them.

The immigrants were placed in wagons, and, escorted by guards, moved along Second, Montgomery and Sacramento streets to the Chinese quarter. There was not the slightest disturbance at any time. The crowd at Main Dock was no larger than ordinary, and the hoodlum element failed to announce its presence. Crowds attracted by curiosity filled the sidewalks along the line of march.

On the night of the 27th, a company of Safety-men were fired on by hoodlums, near Laurel Hill Cemetery. The company returned fire, and the assailants took to the bush.

Fire was applied to a Chinese house at San Pablo, near Oakland, on the 28th, and nine houses were destroyed before the flames were subdued. Prominent citizens of Oakland and the suburban towns were daily in receipt of threatening letters.

A Eureka, Nevada, despatch of the 28th, announced that a crowd assembled in the afternoon, and held an indignation meeting, expressing themselves bitterly op-

posed to the Chinese population, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Deputy Sheriff and several special police succeeded in preventing the destruction of the Chinese portion of the city of Eureka.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SOUTH AND THE STRIKES.

All Serene in Dixie—A Slight Ripple in Texas—Speedy Restoration of Peaceful Relations—"Old Virginia Never Tires"—Southern Men Offer Services to Restore Order in Northern States—The Era of Sectional Harmony—Law and Order.

The South, during the trying days of the strikes, must have experienced peculiar feelings. After having incurred the stigma of the champion rebel of American history, after having been watched and distrusted for years as the great seat of discontent in this country, the unfaithful member, whose probable rally to "the lost cause" was sure to come or to be imputed at least once in four years—after having endured all these things—this black sheep in the flock must have experienced peculiar pleasure in seeing its federal garrisons stripped to furnish troops to take care of the North, to see the President and his Cabinet in daily session, receiving war bulletines from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other centers of unlimited loyalty. If humor were a southern quality, the impulse of Governor Wade Hampton and Governor Nicholls to offer the services of the troops of South Carolina and Louisiana to the President, to put down these incendiary Pennsylvanians, would have been irresistible. What a strange scene would it have been for Governor Hampton to have "marched through Baltimore" in the spirit of 1861?

This aspect of the affair illustrates how the times invited oblivion of the past, and hurried us on to new issues—industrial questions, the restoration of the national currency to its true value, the expansion of our foreign commerce, the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, and the establishment of all the conditions of national prosperity.

Touching this point of the working classes, by the way, Pennsylvania has a moral responsibility resting on her, no whit less than her magnificent material resources. Now that the Centennial is over and sufficiently glorified, now that the coal ring has collapsed, and the Mollie Magnires have been hanged, and Pittsburgh has been humiliated in ashes and blood, it is time to appeal to the State founded by William Penn, and ask if she is not following pretty close after the almighty dollar, and sometimes regarding too little how common humanity is getting along. Philadelphia, honored as a city of homes, may be well enough, but how is it with the miners, how is it with other portions of the State? It is well known that the servile and materialistic spirit of the age in politics, has so far been imitated by a selfish despotism in the coal regions, as to have greatly debased the condition of the laborer. There was plenty of very orthodox conservatism in Pennsylvania, and it fulminated a harsh and materialistic gospel compared with the sweetness and light of Penn's faith and life-long practice. Let liberal Pennsylvania, if there be any such, send out a new evangel of political and religious freedom and practical Christianity to Pennsylvania in bonds, lest the Keystone State should turn all to ignoble clay at the base, and to sordid gold at the top of her social structure.

But the South, at peace within her borders, undisturbed by the spirit of Communism, or the purse-proud tyranny of millionnaires, could afford to look on in undisturbed serenity at the scenes of strife and turmoil which agitated the North, and furnished a spectacle to the world. Her broad cotton fields, and sugar and rice estates, were not to be affected by the conflict, and her growing crops were meanwhile going on to maturity by the certain unfailing laws of nature. But the events in the North afforded an opportunity to the Southern people to demonstrate beyond all future controversy, that with them the past was indeed "the eternal past," that henceforth while our political institutions shall remain, her fortunes and her fate, are inseparably bound with those of the great American sisterhood of States.

This complete restoration of good feeling between the North and South, was well illustrated in Louisville, Kentucky, during the strikes. It was an interesting fact attending the outbreak in Louisville, which was at once followed by the enrollment of nearly one thousand citizens for the protection of the city; was the service side by side of ex-Federal and ex-Confederate soldiers. Ex-Secretary Bristow, for instance, Colonel of one of the Federal regiments recruited in Kentucky, stood guard with General Basil Duke, John Morgan's most dashing Lieutenant, and ex-United States Marshal, Eli H. Murray, the youngest Brigadier in the Union Army, commanded one of the hastily mustered companies, while Major E. A. Richards, who served under General Lee, was one of his fellow officers. Hundreds of ex-soldiers of the blue and grey stood shoulder to shoulder in the ranks.

At Louisville, July 23rd, a committee of the Louisville

and Cincinnati Short Line Railroadmen, appointed a committee on Sunday, called on Chancellor Bruce, while in open court this morning, and through the attorney of the road, according to their instructions, requested that the order for a reduction of wages, to take effect from the 1st of August, be rescinded, Judge Bruce immediately ordered that the circular of Mr. McLeod, making the reduction, be withdrawn. The matter did not come before Receiver McLeod for the reason that he was out of the city, and beyond the reach of the telegraph. An official message was telegraphed over the wires of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Lexington Railroad during the afternoon of the 23rd.

To all agents and employes of the Railroad Company announcing that in the absence of Receiver McLeod, who could not be reached by telegraph, Chancellor Bruce in open court, on application of parties, had issued an order withdrawing the circular that announced a reduction in pay. This telegram was signed by Mr. J. E. Reeves, Master of Transportation on that road.

General satisfaction was shown everywhere over Chancellor Bruce's, action in rescinding Receiver McLeod's reduction in the Louisville, Cincinnati and Lexington Short Line, and the announcement that the Louisville and Nashville and Great Southern management would not cut down, met with universal satisfaction. Governor McCreary had been advised of the feeling among railroadmen, on Sunday, and after receiving and considering information from all quarters in the State where trouble might occur, came to the conclusion that there would be no strike. He had prepared the militia of the State in case they were needed, but thought there

would be no trouble. The reduction orders were all rescinded.

On the 24th of July, a committee of workingmen of the Louisville, Nashville and Great Southern Railroad, appointed to wait on Dr. D. C. Standiford, President, and demand the restoration of wages reduced on the first of the month, did so. The result was that the road agreed to restore the former wages, and the men went away apparently satisfied.

There was no fear of trouble on the Louisville, Cincinnati and Lexington, as the reduction ordered had been rescinded. The Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis, and Ohio and Mississippi lines, terminating at Louisville, were refusing freight and passengers.

In the city, a gang of negro sewermen stopped work, and with picks, shovels, hoes, etc., on their shoulders, marched through the streets, stopping all other laborers. Before night there were several hundreds, including some whites. Mayor Jacob issued a proclamation, calling on them to disperse. All the police were on duty, doubly armed, and arms had been ordered from Frankfort Arsenal. There was a determined spirit manifested among good citizens to quell the disorder.

Seven hundred militia, many of them being influential and wealthy citizens, were on duty, armed with guns and pistols. The police numbered one hundred and seventy-five. Business houses were closed, and the storekeepers were enrolled in the militia. The very worst elements were mixed in with the idlers who began the troubles. Mayor Jacob had issued orders to trifle with none ; to use prompt and effective measures to suppress the least indication of violence or talk thereof.

The laboring men of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad were not included in the number whose wages were raised. They quit work, and so did the moulders and workmen generally.

On the 27th, Louisville remained quiet. The citizen-militia were still on active duty. Passenger trains were running on schedule time on the Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis, and Ohio and Mississippi Railroads. Amicable relations had been established between the President and employes of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, where the men had gone to work. There had been active movements of the United States infantry. Seven companies went to Indianapolis, under the command of General Morrow; five companies and two batteries to Newport, under General Floyd Jones. Five companies remained at Louisville, under General De Trobriand. General Ruger, commanding the Department of the South, reached Louisville on the 27th of July.

Judge Connelly F. Trigg sent an order to United States Marshal Wheat, at Nashville town, on the 30th, instructing him to summon a *posse* from that district, to protect freight trains running on the St. Louis and South-eastern, on the Nashville division, upon which strikers still held out. Marshal Wheat took charge of the South-eastern shops that day, and informed the strikers that all who wanted to resume work might report for that purpose the next morning, and others would have to seek employment elsewhere. Any interference with trains would subject them to arrest. A *posse* sufficient to protect the running of freight trains, was sworn in, and the order of the court was enforced. Disaffected employes

held a meeting, and drafted a petition to Judge Trigg, setting forth their grievances, and asking a restoration of their former wages. This was forwarded to Judge Trigg.

The employes of the Texas Central Railroad, at Corsicana, struck at noon on the 27th, and no freight trains were allowed to pass that point. The strikers were orderly, but determined. Many of them enrolled in the special police force, and expressed a determination to protect life and property.

At a conference of train hands at Hearn, on the 27th, an agreement was made to prevent the passage of freight trains, and that no one should be permitted to interfere with railroad property until the strikers became satisfied that the stoppage of freight trains would not bring the Company to terms.

Employes of the Central road at Houston, held a meeting, and a resolution was adopted instructing the committee to demand the January standard of wages, ten per cent. additional to the rates they were receiving, also, nine hours' labor per day.

The employes of the Texas Central road held another meeting at Houston, the following morning, and appointed a committee to wait on the officers of the road, and lay before them their grievances. The committee was met by Vice President Jordan, Superintendent Swanson, and Secretary Love. After a lengthy conference, both sides made concessions, and it was agreed that the wages should be restored to the April standard, half the increase to take effect August 1, and half October 1. The committee of employes immediately telegraphed to all points on the road that a satisfactory

adjustment had been arrived at, and work should be resumed at once.

The railway troubles in Texas were then confined entirely to the Texas Pacific road. Freight traffic on that road was suspended, but there was no violence. The good behavior of the men, and their claim that they had not been paid their wages since March, excited sympathy for them.

The negro 'longshoremen employed at Central Wharf, in Galveston, who had been working for thirty cents per hour, struck for forty cents, the amount paid white laborers on other wharves. After some little delay their demand was good-naturedly acceded to, and they resumed work. A detachment of police was at the wharf to suppress any outbreak, but their services were not required.

The strike on the Texas Pacific road came to an end the morning of the 30th. The Company agreed to pay amounts due employes prior to June 1, by August 25, and amounts due prior to August 1, by October 1, and to make wages uniform with other Texas roads. Trainmen on the San Antonio road secured an advance of ten per cent., to take effect August 1. Shop hands on that road accepted the proposition. The men had not struck; but would have done so if an advance had not been granted. Early in the morning of the 30th, the negro laborers employed in reconstructing buildings destroyed by the late fire on Market street, organized a strike, and marched to the corner of Strand and Twenty-fourth streets, where a block of buildings were in course of erection, and induced laborers to quit work. From that point the strikers went to the corner of avenue A and

Twenty-fourth street, and induced laborers working upon a block nearly completed, to join them. They next visited the Narrow-gauge Railroad, and gangs engaged in ballasting and track-laying on A and Bath avenues joining the strikers. Lomis' pickery, Stump's planing mill, the San Antonio and Houston freight depot, flour mills, and other places were visited, and in most instances laborers quit work. The strike was confined entirely to unskilled colored laborers. White mechanics were working as usual. The movement was without leaders, or a common purpose, and whenever it was met with firmness, it accomplished nothing. The negroes appeared to be unable to explain why they struck, or what they demanded. The movement was incited by white demagogues. A strong detachment of police were keeping the strikers constantly in view, and any violence to persons or property would have been promptly suppressed.

There were no strikes in Virginia. The citizens of Richmond were justly moved by a keen sense of the admirable temper displayed by the railroadmen there, and the laboring classes generally. As General Wickham said, the workingmen of that city were the first in the country to denounce the lawlessness which reigned in several sister cities. All honor to them. With laborers the times were hard. But while wages were low, their condition in that respect would compare favorably with the financial status of any city in the country, except, perhaps, some municipalities on the Western slope.

Richmond, compared to New York, showed to the advantage of the former, securities were above par, business was increasing in volume, and at a turning of the

tide that promised to flood with speedy improvement. Richmond was bound to be strengthened by her law-abiding and dignified attitude before the country. While Northern communities were aflame with an excitement that boded no permanent or transient good, the Southern heart beat more normal. While in Northern cities was beheld communism rearing its dragon-head, the great centres of the South were "solid" in their devotion to industry, and in their respect for law.

At New Orleans, July 30th, a committee of the Shoemakers' Benevolent Association called upon the Acting Mayor, and stated that when the association attempted to hold a meeting they were surprised to find in the hall a number of policemen, who requested the society to cease all deliberations. The committee stated that they had called to ascertain the cause of interference by the police. Acting Mayor Dennis replied that for several days many rumors had prevailed of meetings of a number of societies on Sunday, and in addition he observed that the shoemakers were to meet at a building where the bakers, by an advertisement, had requested five hundred men to assemble. Believing, in view of what had occurred North, that certain emissaries of the Communists might be in the city, and that until the crisis had passed, it were better not to agitate the labor question, he had directed the Chief of Police to suppress all meetings, for the time being, in the interests of the whole people. Had the shoemakers notified him of the proposed meeting he would have gladly furnished a sufficient police force to preserve order, and prevent any interference from the ruffianly element. If at any future day they proposed to meet, and notified him of time and

place, he would take this precaution. The committee expressed itself satisfied with this arrangement, and gave assurance that the society is on the side of law, and opposed to any thing which would disturb existing harmonious relations between labor and capital.

It was a Southern brain that dictated, and a Southern hand that traced the sentiments quoted below. "Call you that treason? What we need is, first, to correct abuses, to remove the cause of reduced wages, and of violence, to restore that prosperity which, with good management, this country ought always to have, except for the brief period of occasional panic and depression. Then we need, instead of meeting violence with violence, except in emergency, or providing the imperial machinery for repressing disorder, that unerring, inevitable, and continual application of law which begets respect for law. There is no fear of power or respect for force which can ever compensate a country for a want of that regard for the law which is all powerful at all times. It is that intangible but almighty power which constrains a people with all the bonds of use and custom which they live under, and breathe like an atmosphere. Men fear, and love, and revere it. They respect it, and never hate it like they do power and the military force—the machinery of despotism. They would as soon violate the natural law of gravitation under which they live, as to violate it. It is that we need, not power. It is slow of growth, but it may be grown by public opinion, constraining the courts and juries, for it is not courts or laws, but the people are responsible. Then they demand that punishment shall follow violation of law, as surely as sunrise follows sun-

set, as surely as death follows the violation of the natural law of gravitation ; then we will need no strong arm and have no violence. These are remedies strengthening the blind, savage arm of government, which is only to be used in a great emergency, and regularly relied on, is no remedy."

*Twenty-six pages are here added to correct the omission in paging the illustrations.

CHAPTER XXXII.

"MINOR DEVELOPMENTS OF THE STRIKES."

How a Strike was Averted on the Union Pacific Railroad—Concessions to the Men—A Settlement at Memphis—Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Labor Union, Order of Melakhto—Rights and Privileges—Sympathizers with the Strikers—The Engineers Brotherhood at Pittsburgh—Views and Opinions.

Some of the minor incidents of the Great Strike about this time, excited an important influence on the general course of events. The concessions made by railroad companies and other employers, had a salutary effect by withdrawing from active interest in the movement, many thousands of men. In all cases where the demands of the men were promptly acceded to, all enthusiasm in behalf of the cause of the strikers at once ceased. It is difficult to conceive to what extent the spirit of lawlessness might have gone, had the vast number of men who made demands, been repelled, as were the employes of the Baltimore and Ohio, and Pennsylvania Railroads. The course pursued by those managers of railroads who made concession, justly entitles them to the lasting gratitude of the people of the entire country. It was this action of theirs which withdrew a mighty force from the cause of the strikers, and perhaps even saved the country from a revolution, at least a protracted period of mob-rule, anarchy, and bloodshed. They strained a point to do what they did, and are entitled to the honor which is cheerfully accorded them.

The situation on the Union Pacific Railroad from Omaha to Ogden, was becoming every day more threatening. The evening of the 19th, about three hundred employes of that road, held a meeting for the purpose of discussing the reduction from five to ten per cent. in their wages. A committee was appointed to confer with Superintendent Clark, and the meeting adjourned to Monday night. The night for the meeting arrived. By this time, about seven hundred employes of the road had come to Omaha, and were present to receive the report of the committee. The chairman of the committee then rose and stated that they had discharged the duty assigned them. They had met Superintendent Clark, who had received them in a cordial manner, and informed them that the Company had determined to rescind the order reducing the wages. The report was received with immense satisfaction. Thus was averted a strike on the great trans-continental highway, and no further trouble was experienced on that road during the existence of the strike.

The Central Council of the Labor League of the United States, at a meeting held at Washington the afternoon of the 19th, passed a series of resolutions on the depressed state of labor throughout the country, and the anticipated results to flow therefrom, enjoining coolness and moderation upon the members of the order, and especially warning them, as well as workingmen in general, to beware of emissaries, some of whom had endeavored to operate at Washington, by inciting to strikes and violence, measures which injure labor in general, disturb order, and end in the conviction and punishment of the participants therein. The council

further resolved that moral agitation is the strength and power by which labor can acquire tangible reformation, and that mob violence and riot lead only to anarchy and the final destruction of human liberty, and it was better to submit to any sort of despotism for the time being, than to have no government at all.

A strike on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was averted by the action of the Railroad Company. Dissatisfaction with the wages received had been manifested for some days. The evening of the 19th was selected as a suitable time to hold a meeting of employes, to give expression to their views and wishes. Accordingly, the machinists and carpenters of the road met quietly and discussed the present condition. The result was the drawing up of resolutions, which were placed in the hands of a committee, who waited on the master mechanic, H. N. Buford, who referred them to Colonel C. M. McGhee, manager of the road, upon whom they called, at the Peabody Hotel, late in the evening. The resolutions were respectfully couched. The machinists and carpenters requested that their wages be made the same as those paid for the same work by the Mississippi and Tennessee, and the Memphis and Louisville roads. The cost of living was enumerated, and the careful consideration of their petition requested. The increase asked was in some cases ten cents, in some fifteen cents, and others twenty-five cents per diem. This road was not making expenses, and the employes appreciated the difficulties under which the management labored. The plan had been to keep up the regular force on trains, and to reduce fares, so as to throw none out of employment.

The trainmen presented their needs to Colonel Mc-

Ghee, who agreed to meet his petitioners in conference at eleven o'clock the following day. The matter was amicably adjusted. At noon Colonel McGhee met the committee appointed by the employes, and after a free discussion and consultation as to the causes of the strike, an arrangement was agreed upon as to rates of wages, which was alike satisfactory to the Railroad Company and the employes. There was no further trouble on the Charleston road, and every thing moved along as before the appearance of the unpleasantness.

A convocation of the Supreme Council of the Labor Union of the order of Melakhto, for the State of Missouri was called at St. Louis. This organization is said to number more than two hundred thousand in the United States. It is a secret society, and has for its object the educational, social, and physical well being of the working people. The situation of the country was discussed, and the following declaration of rights and privileges was issued to the members of the order.

Every man has a right to determine for himself, whether he will' or will not, work for any wages that may be offered him. No man has a right to determine for another man, whether that other man shall, or shall not, work for any wages that may be offered.

No man has a right to prevent another man from doing any work, not noxious to society, and not dangerous to other individuals, which he may think best to do.

Every man has a right to his own freedom.

Every man has a right to act, or not to act, in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment, and his own conscience.

No man has a right to interfere with the freedom of

another, by dictating either how he shall feel, what he shall think and say, or what he shall do.

The foundation of society in this country is freedom, and anything except the laws of God, or the laws of the land, which interfere with freedom must be suppressed and removed.

The Supreme Council of the Labor Union, O. M., of Missouri, solemnly affirms that it is the privilege of all men—

To refrain from labor at any time, even though that should result in a complete stagnation in all business.

That since employers exercise the privilege of closing their manufactories, thereby depriving their employes of the means of labor, the employes are entitled to the privilege of depriving employers of their services at any time.

That it is the privilege of all men to give full expression to whatever views they may entertain, and that any interference therewith is gross tyranny and should be resisted.

That it is an unquestioned privilege, appertaining to manhood, of laboring men in all departments of human industry, to combine together in associations to promote the general welfare of their class, as much as it is the privilege of capitalists to combine in corporations.

That statutes formed by several State Legislatures and known as conspiracy laws, encroach upon the privileges of the people to organize and combine forces.

That it is the privilege of capital to combine, and no less the privilege of labor to combine to resist the power of combined capital, by all legitimate means.

That it is the privilege of the people to assemble, and

discuss any subject in their own way, and all municipal regulations which trench upon this privilege, should be set aside as unconstitutional, and subversive of popular liberty.

That it is the privilege of this Supreme Counsel of the Labor Union, ORDER MELAKITO, to express sympathy with the railroad and all other laborers now on strike, and to lend aid and comfort to them so long as they refrain from acts of violence.

The discussion of the question of cause was taken up by all the leading journals of the country. Every one had a particular theory, and nearly every one had a ready patent remedy for the occurrence of such strikes. The following is one of the remedies suggested by one of the leading men in the nation, and published at the time. Secretary Evarts said but a few days ago, that "if we want to sell, we must buy." The laws and treaties affecting foreign commerce be changed so as to allow us to exchange our products for others. In this, the railroad companies and their people have a common interest; and the managers of these companies are to blame that they have not foreseen trouble and arrested it by showing their workmen where lies the true remedy for the general depression, and leading them to demand needed changes. The country is not really poor; it is suffering because it has too great abundance. One of the communistic speakers said, that the great increase of labor-saving machinery had not improved, as it ought, the condition of the workmen. He was perfectly right; but the workmen themselves are largely to blame for this; they have tolerated a total neglect of foreign commerce, and in the course of time the country has come

to a point where it can manufacture more—not much more, but yet more than it can consume. The surplus weighs like lead on every branch of industry; it depresses prices and disables manufacturers, who find the home market overstocked by nine months work in the year, and are prevented by plundering laws from selling the surplus abroad. Suppose our wheat farmers could not sell their surplus in Europe. They would be utterly ruined, no matter how great their crops were. But that is precisely the condition of our manufacturers, and all interests suffer with them—the railroads of course chief of all. The workingmen can easily and quickly change all that, but not by striking. Let them demand that Congress shall free foreign trade from some of the shackles, and they will see a new prosperity rapidly springing up, and labor in demand everywhere, we must sell our surplus.

There was one feature that cropped out in the widespread riots, that was full of meaning, and that was the great body of suffering men opposed to any infraction of the law. Hungry and naked as they were, they placed their brawny bodies between the vicious rabble and those who were injuring them. This changed it from the form of a strike for wages, to an earnest protest against a cruel and wicked national policy, and it was a protest that must be heeded.

The workingmen were only resisting a strike inaugurated by the officers of the railroads. These had combined to cut down wages, and the men said, “we will not stand the reduction.” An idle, vicious rabble took advantage of the disorder to steal, burn and rob. The injured men interposed and said to the mob, you shall

not destroy the property of our employers, however much they have wronged us! Their protest was honorable, calm, magnanimous! In the meantime, tramps were multiplying; the hungry, the starving, the naked, were daily increasing. This condition of things could not be trifled with. It ought to be considered and remedied. Men cannot, and will not "grind at the mill forever." Even in America, the *proletariat* is becoming great in numbers, and dangerous in disposition. A policy that increases the number of poor, that depresses the condition of the working people is unwise, and must inevitably end in the destruction of social order and the ruin of the country.

A largely attended meeting of the merchants of Evansville, Indiana, met at the Court House in that city, on the evening of the 22nd of July, to discuss the situation of the country. Mr. Peter Semonin presided.

Mr. Read explained that in view of the troubles by which the country had been invaded, it had been deemed expedient to call the business men of the city together. He thought the President ought to be petitioned to convene Congress immediately, to repeal the resumption act. The strike was not an excuse, there was wide-spread dissatisfaction. It was growing worse every day, but they had hope of settling the difficulty without bloodshed. Men must not die from starvation. They would not submit to that. He was opposed to the resumption act heart and soul. All the people were in the same boat. As merchants he declared they would not turn back against the working classes for John Sherman. The sooner the bondholders were made acquainted with that fact the better for the country.

Mr. Williamson moved the appointment of a committee of five, to draw up resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. The committee having performed the services assigned them, returned with the following declaration and resolutions, which were adopted :

In view of the disorders existing throughout the country, consequent upon the revolt of workmen against the reduction of wages below the cost of comfortable living, and that the people of this city may clearly understand the relations of the business men of Evansville towards their fellow citizens, comprising what is known as "The Laboring Class," this meeting declares

1. That the prosperity of business men being directly dependent upon well-paid labor, and the happiness and prosperity of the masses, it is the interest as it is the duty of business men to demand the removal of all causes that compel employers to curtail expenses beyond a point that makes economy an oppression too grievous to be borne.

2. That business, despite the practice of the greatest prudence on the part of employers, has hardly been self-sustaining for years past, and believing, as we do, that the cause of this general stagnation in the commercial and manufacturing world, is directly traceable to the policy of forced resumption, to be reached through the severe contraction of the currency, we respectfully request of the administration the cessation of the contraction policy, and demand of our Representatives and Senators in Congress the unconditional repeal of the resumption act.

3. That the bankrupt law be abolished.

4. That we favor the making of the silver dollar a legal tender for all debts.

5. That we have every confidence in the good citizenship of the industrial classes of this community, and we pledge ourselves to use every influence at our command to secure relief from the evil legislation that has resulted so disastrously to the entire people.

6. That we cordially approve the action of the workmen in tendering their services to the Mayor and city authorities for the protection of life and property, and the preservation of law and order, and that the chairman of this meeting be authorized to make a similar tender on behalf of the business men of Evansville.

At Cincinnati, on Monday evening, 22nd of July, shortly after the steamer W. P. Thompson had come in and began to unload her freight, a swarm of negro roughs from the "Yellowhammer" saloon, "Pickett's," the "Steamboatman's" saloon, and other extraordinary places along the landing, descended upon the Thompson's crew with drawn pistols and boulders, and ordered them to quit work, or strike for higher wages. The crew, which consisted of twenty-three men, attempted to keep on working; but their boss, a hard working little roustabout called "Nigger Jack," had to quit in consequence of being hurt by a boulder, and the mob commenced throwing rocks on board the boat. There must have been at least one hundred and fifty or two hundred of these fellows, who were not working themselves, and wanted, apparently, to keep others from working. There were no white tramps, it seems, in the black flock; and the rumor that the idea of the undertaking was organized in the "Blazing Stump" does not seem probable.

The captain had actually anticipated the possibility of a row of this kind, because at Pittsburgh the 'long-

shoremen had been striking for thirty cents an hour, in consequence, he ordered the mate to pay the crew twenty-five cents per hour for night work, the old rate being twenty cents. The strikers however, made the crew demand thirty cents, and compelled them to stop work. As the W. P. Thompson had to leave at a very early hour, and would lose much more by a few hours delay than would suffice to make up the difference in wages. The captain stepped on shore and told the strikers he was going to pay thirty cents per hour. The crowd then became quiet and the work went on.

Mr. H. C. Lord, one of the oldest and most experienced railway men in the West, gave his views of the railway strikes in a very able and interesting letter to the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, from which we make some extracts. They touch the vitals of the whole difficulty. It is well known that very many of our roads are in the hands of Federal and State courts, whose records show that the pay-rolls of the employes are terribly in arrears, while they should have been promptly paid, in preference to bondholders or any other class of creditors. So they are left to the mercy of the small grocers and shop keepers, who have furnished them food and raiment upon their credit in the corporations, and now the employe is refused further credit, and is at the same time called on to pay up his back dues, which he cannot do. He is alarmed and desperate, and now a further reduction in his wages is threatened. Mr. Lord says, further, "It is perfectly well known, at least to the railway and mercantile community, that while there has been no essential falling off during the past two years in the number of passengers carried on our railroads, nor in the

amount of tonnage hauled between the seaboard and our Western cities, farms, and prairies, yet the business has been done at rates of fare and freight earning no profit to the companies, but, on the contrary, involving them in daily loss. I venture the assertion that if fair and judicious rates of transportation had been fixed, and not departed from, nearly every railroad in the country would to-day be in a prosperous condition, its men paid up and contented, the whole country more prosperous, and not a road strike throughout the land.

“Now, who is to blame for this gross mismanagement? Certainly not the engineers and firemen, nor the brakemen, nor the mechanics, nor the section men, and yet they are the parties virtually called upon to make up the loss. The merchants and manufacturers of the country have not enforced these ruinous rates of transportation. All they ever need or ask for is uniform rates over all competing lines to common points; and what difference has it made to the western farmer whether his wheat, corn, and cattle paid twenty cents freight to New York or fifty cents, so long as the rates were uniform, and the price to the consumer was the original cost of the product, with the actual freight added? No, the great fault lies with the railway managers, who have defied all established maxims and rule of correct business procedure, who have quarreled among themselves, and inaugurated a policy of personal, and local, and corporative rivalry and competition, which has been destructive of the property they were pledged to protect, and of all confidence in railway securities, and they are now striving to stem the tide by the practice of a false economy, in striking a blow at the wages of over-worked men, while

the rates of transportation are not changed. They give another turn to the screw upon wages, but make no effort to reform themselves. The result is natural, inevitable, and will continue to be as it is as long as the world shall stand. Capital and men in power become timid, apprehensive, and call upon the State for protection, and labor becomes first suspicious, and then mutinous."

About this time a Buffalo railroad fireman published an account of the life and pay of a fireman on the engine of the Lake Shore road. An extract will be found interesting as containing one view of the strikers cause. He wrote, "After the last cut down, we firemen received one dollar and forty-six cents for running one hundred miles, and our division is eighty-eight miles long. Now supposing we start out of here early in the morning. We get our breakfast here which costs twenty-five cents. At Dunkirk we dine, which costs twenty-five cents more, and on arriving at Erie we have supper, costing twenty-five cents more. Our lodging also costing twenty-five cents, making one dollar in all. So that here alone we have about forty-six cents left. Now, if we were able to run all the time, and make all the trips possible, we would clear above board, about twelve dollars per month. From this comes washing and other incidentals. This is only a bare statement, when in reality there are hundreds of cases where the men fall below many a month. A month ago a test was made by an unmarried fireman, who was well known for his economical habits. Well, he ran as often as he could, and made many extra trips, and had an unusually good month. It was found at the end of the month that he owed fifty cents.

This man is ready to take the stand and swear to the

truth of this fact. Very bright prospects for the future, was it not? The remainder of the employes are as bad off in regard to pay, and many of them worse than we are.

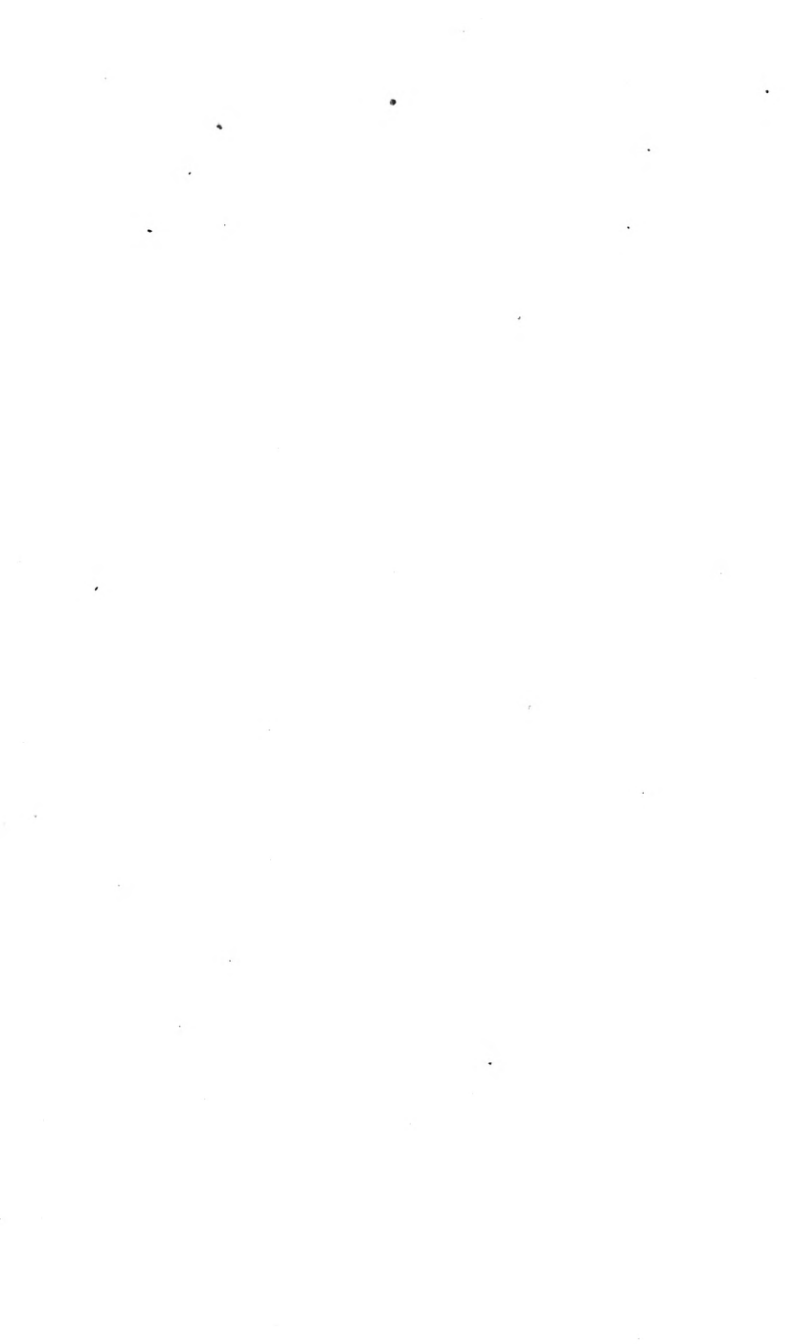
I suppose you think, like all other people, that we are a fierce set of fellows, anxious to burn and smash things, etc., a set of lions going about seeing what they can devour. But all of our men, excepting a few who are under the influence of liquor, have decided to be quiet, and make no violent demonstrations whatever. From all I can find out none of the acts done here to-day have been committed by the strikers, although there may have been one or two of the fellows mixed up in some way, but as a general rule they are quiet and not a bit warlike. We are confident of success, as we believe we have the sympathy of the people."

Such are some of the phases of the opinion which prevailed at the time of the great strikes. They are interesting now, and will prove more so as the scenes and incidents of the great strikes become a mere episode in the history of our country. They prove, too, that the popular sympathies were without doubt with the strikers, but not with the vicious rabble that gathered in every city—with no other motive than to pillage and burn down houses, and commit other deeds of violence. But the thieves were not railroad strikers.

A large amount of jewelry and silverware was found in one car, which was distributed with a prodigality that would have astonished the legitimate owners. A few very fine pictures were found and carried off by persons whose appearance indicated a woeful want of aesthetic culture. There was no attempt at concealment. Property thus stolen was exhibited as freely as if it had been

honestly acquired. Men exchanged old boots for new ones without hesitation or shame. One person secured several silk dress patterns Sunday morning and sold them for one dollar and fifty cents each. It was a harvest for those who did not know the difference between *meum et tuum*. But it is a fact well attested that these depredations were not committed by railroad, or any other laborers or artisans as a class, but by the evil disposed of all classes. All railroadmen are not honest or perfect men, neither are all capitalists, bankers, merchants, priests or preachers. Human nature is about the same in all classes, and with all conditions of the people.





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Annals of the great strikes in the United
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